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DURING the past two weeks the news from the western front has been for the first time in some months distinctly encouraging. The British army seems to have attained a higher level of sustained efficiency than any army since the beginning of the war. It is dealing one sledge-hammer blow after another against the German line. It always succeeds in attaining its immediate objectives in spite of the comparative quiet along the rest of the front and the ability of the German staff to concentrate in Flanders almost unlimited supplies of men, guns and munitions. The blows fall in astoundingly quick succession and with a terrible precision. If General Haig is vouchsafed another month of good weather, it looks as if he would capture the entire ridge east of Ypres before the winter sets in; and in that case the German staff would have to choose between a considerable retirement or the ugly and costly alternative of resuming the fighting in the spring under dangerously disadvantageous conditions. The gradually increasing ability of the British staff to accomplish its immediate military purposes and to overcome a resistance on the part of the Germans which lacks nothing in men and material is an enormously convincing fact. The old British army which for all its gallantry was only semi-professional has been succeeded by an army as technically competent as that of the German or the French.

DURING the past week the French Military Commission in the United States gave to the press a statement of the utmost importance. There was assembled in this communication many facts, all of which tended to prove a rate of attrition of the German army in France faster than at any previous time. The German troops are being used up so quickly that for the first time since the beginning of the war indications are detected of an actual diminution of effective fighting strength. So far as we know, no such claim has previously been made by the high command of any of the Allied armies; and if it is now made by the French, they must be sufficiently sure of their ground. It explains why the Germans, in spite of the inoffensiveness of the Russian army, have been unable to attack during the past summer, and it tends to one peculiarly encouraging conclusion as to the future. If the pressure on the German line is sustained and so far as possible increased, some measure of retirement during the winter or the spring looks inevitable. But if the Allied armies possess the ability to force such a retirement, they should spare no effort to bring it about at the earliest possible moment. Nothing would more encourage the French nation and discourage the Germans than another forced withdrawal from French or Belgian territory. The ability to increase the pressure depends so far as France is concerned largely upon the energy and celerity of American military preparation, and it was doubtless in the hope of accelerating the American mobilization that the French statement was published.

POPULAR subscriptions to the Second Liberty Loan may have a decided effect upon the development of our financial policy. For the successful prosecution of the war we must have colossal

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sums of money. This is an international obligation we are compelled to meet. Whether these sums are to be raised by taxes or by loans is a consideration of domestic policy. Down to the present our government has shown a tendency to lay the burden of taxation especially upon the rich. It has relied only to a very limited degree upon consumption taxes falling upon the masses, although it is a commonplace of finance that such taxes may be made enormously productive. Of this policy every democrat must approve, in principle. But the financial power of the masses must somehow be placed at the disposal of the government. The rich can not both pay the war taxes and buy all the bonds we must sell. They can give voluntarily or by compulsion only what they have, and what they have is not enough to meet the international need. The contributions of the rich in taxes and loans have to be supplemented by contributions from the masses who are not rich. If the results of the Liberty Loan campaign show that the masses are alive to their obligation and can be counted upon to absorb large loans, our taxation policy will continue to develop in its present direction. But if there is no satisfactory popular response to the loan the government will inevitably be driven to the expedient of consumption taxes. This would entail a loss to democracy, but not so great a loss as would result from failure to meet our national financial obligations.

PROFESSOR CHARLES BEARD is known as one of the ablest, most sincere and most fearless of American scholars. His resignation from the Columbia faculty, in protest against the narrow-minded and arbitrary action of the trustees in dismissing Professors Cattell and Dana, is a serious loss to Columbia and to the teaching profession. Nevertheless he has performed a signal service both to Columbia and to the academic world in general. The two professors who were dismissed held opinions on the war that Professor Beard utterly repudiated. They were opposed to our entry into the war, and to our employment of means which were demanded for its most effective prosecution. Ever since the invasion of Belgium Professor Beard has been vehemently pro-Ally and insistent upon American participation. His support of the war policy of the nation is unqualified. But he stands upon his right to support the war policy of his country as a free man, not as one whose livelihood depends upon his acceptance of that policy. He therefore felt compelled to protest in the most vigorous possible way against the action of the trustees which tended to make it uncertain how far the loyalty of Columbia professors—and other professors as well—is forced, how far it is free.

BACK of the newly organized League for National Unity there is a sound idea. It is the idea of agitating against the agitators, of organizing " on the firing line of public opinion " a counter propaganda against people who pervert, confuse, deny or disparage the declared purposes of the American government in fighting Germany. This method of meeting propaganda with propaganda is wise and sportsmanlike, and its employment is the more desirable and the more difficult at the present time, because there is a great deal of honest difference of opinion among good Americans not only about the purposes of this war, but about the means which ought to be adopted in order to make those purposes effective. President Wilson, for instance, officially proclaimed it a war to safeguard democracy, but this official interpretation is denied both by Colonel Roosevelt and the Socialists. It is denied, however, for different reasons, and the propagandists of the new League will need different arguments in order to counteract these different but equally heretical attempts to undermine American moral unity. Again the platform of the League truly states that America is waging " a war against war " and on behalf of " a just and durable peace." Yet many Americans who are most enthusiastic about fighting the war are entirely sceptical about its success in attaining its declared purposes. They appear quite certain that as a result of the fighting war will not be abolished and a durable peace achieved. They are agitating now for a perpetuation of the policy of arming to the teeth and of preparing for future wars. Such an agitation obviously reflects on the good faith of the American government and tends to undermine public confidence in its integrity of purpose, and the League for National Unity will have a fine opportunity for public service in demonstrating the effect of such heresies in disheartening those American citizens who supported the present war because its declared purpose was the promotion of lasting peace.

FOR generations the authorities on finance have urged that income tax laws should differentiate between earned incomes, such as salaries and professional receipts, and unearned incomes, such as interest on loans, rents, royalties. Differentiation is actually practiced under the revenue systems of nations that have had a long experience with the income tax. In some cases the rates on earned and unearned incomes are specifically different; in other cases a differential rate on unearned incomes is effected through a supplementary tax on property. When our revenue bill was under discussion, there was some sentiment in favor of introducing differentiation here, but the project was not urged, because it was thought undesirable to introduce refinements

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of fiscal practice in time of war. But now that the revenue bill has become law, we find to our surprise that the principle of differentiation has actually been incorporated in the law. Only, it is an upside down kind of differentiation. Unlike all other applications of the principle, our law discriminates against earned incomes and in favor of unearned. If one receives an income of $10,000 from bonds, he pays only the ordinary income tax—or if they happen to be tax exempt bonds, of which we now have a huge volume, no tax at all. If one receives an income of $10,000 from a salaried post or from an independent professional practice, he pays, in addition to ordinary income taxes, 8 per cent on the excess above $6,000, or $320. Possibly a man who is privileged to draw a salary of $10,000 will not be taxed too heavily. But why was Congress so tender to the man with an unearned income of $10,000? We ought to get at least the extra $320 out of him, and $640 would be still better.

TO penalize earned incomes is so absurd that the first impression created by the report that this is accomplished by the revenue law was that a "joker" had slipped in to make the law unpopular. We have since received assurance that such was not the case. The committee meant to put this provision into the law. And neither pacifism nor pro-Germanism had anything to do with it: only a muddled state of the legislative mind. One who is interested in explanations, rather than in results, may easily reconstruct the process by which the penalizing of earned incomes was attained. First, Congress set out to tax war profits. It is supposed that something like $3,000,000,000 of profits, above peace time returns, will emerge this year—clearly a fit object of war taxation. Next it occurred to the legislators that many corporations, now making an excess above the pre-war level, were all but bankrupt before the war. Surely they were entitled to an exemption of a normal rate before profits should be reckoned as excess to be taxed. Some corporations were making huge profits before the war. Surely they should not be allowed to deduct such profits from present takings in order to arrive at excess. All they should be permitted to deduct should be a normal figure. Thus the war profits tax became a general tax on excess profits. But if corporations were to be subject to a general profits tax, so also should partnerships and individuals competing with them. And if one-man corporations throwing their profits into the form of dividends should be taxed, how about one-man corporations throwing their profits into the form of a president's salary? Therefore, to avoid occasional discriminations between businesses in a relatively small number of marginal instances, it seemed well to Congress to discriminate generally against earned incomes and in favor of unearned.

THERE is now being circulated in the country a pamphlet, written—so it is stated—by Professor Douglas W. Johnson of Columbia University. It was composed in reply to a letter pleading the cause of Germany which he had received from a German correspondent; and it was originally published in the Revue de Paris of September, 1916. In this letter Professor Johnson protests vigorously against certain criticisms which his German correspondent had passed against the American press, which he compares favorably in one respect with the German press. "Your newspapers" he says (the letter was written when Germany was at war) "are not free to publish anything they like. Ours are thus free. . . . We can read everything whether the government likes it or not. Americans believe there can be no truly free press, no really unfettered public opinion with the possibility of punishment hanging over the press of the country." Since these words were written Americans have to all appearance changed the conviction so unequivocally asserted by Professor Johnson, and inasmuch as the pamphlet is in this respect inaccurate it should either be brought down to date or it should be withdrawn from circulation.

BY unanimously passing the bill restoring the protection of workmen's compensation to longshoremen and other workers in and about vessels at the docks, Congress has opened the way for a comprehensive application of state compensation laws to industrial accidents in marine employments. When the United States Supreme Court in its divided opinion in the Jensen case ascribed the injury cases of these workmen to maritime liability jurisdiction, thousands were placed in a distressing situation. Innocent victims in the old feud between federal control and state control, the men and their families were deprived of just and certain accident indemnities they had been enjoying, and frequently were thrown upon private charity. Congress provided relief by amending the Judicial Code relating to the jurisdiction of federal district courts so as to save to claimants the rights and remedies under the workmen's compensation law of any state. A barrier of legal jurisdiction thus removed, the individual state is now free to determine how far its compensation law is adapted—or is to be shaped—to cover such workmen. Fortunately for the well-being of this highly necessary industrial army and for the efficient conduct of the nation's shipping, there was no delay in making this urgently-needed readjustment.

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The Failure of the Submarine

BY far the most encouraging piece of news which has come from Europe in many months is that of the steadily decreasing success of the German submarine attack on commerce. For the first time since last winter the losses of merchant shipping are being reduced to manageable limits. Improved methods of convoying and arming merchant vessels have been successful in rendering the all-important maritime communications of the Allies comparatively safe. Inasmuch as the operation of these methods will be still further improved during the winter and the spring, it seems as certain as anything can be in war that the submarine offensive is by way of being defeated. Within a few months the gross tonnage controlled by the Allied governments will begin to increase and the handicap of deficient transport, which recently has been impairing the success of their military operations, will be less costly. Germany's only chance of victory will have vanished. Even though she were capable next summer of placing a largely increased number of submarines in the water, their construction would constitute a waste of valuable resources. They will not be able to get at the faster, more heavily armed and more carefully convoyed fleets of the Allies.

If the submarine attack on commerce is by way of being defeated and particularly if the submarine proves to be disappointing as a weapon of attrition as well as a weapon of decision, the way will be smoothed for one of the indispensable political victories of the war. The war is being fought in the first place to convince the German people of its mistake in supporting a government which was capable of impairing the very foundations of international security and good faith by attacking France through Belgium. But after the submarine campaign started it became equally necessary to convince them of their mistake in supporting a government which sought to win a victory for an aggressive militaristic ambition by a policy of terrorizing all commerce on the high seas. From the very first faint beginnings of recognized public law in the seventeenth century, men who were capable of thinking internationally have labored to convert the open ocean as the world's highway into international territory. They succeeded only in part chiefly because internationalism was conceived merely as a negative check on national ambitions, but they did write into public law a sharp distinction between territorial waters and the high seas and they did place traffic on the sea under the protection of some measure of international regulation. It was this precious international domain which the Germans violated when they unleashed the U-boats against neutral commerce. If their attack had been successful, they would have undone the most valuable historical achievement of internationalism and have rendered useless its most promising and powerful future servant. They would have demonstrated the ability of a strong military nation to terrorize the ocean highway by means of the submarine without controlling its surface, and thus they would have erected a formidable barrier against the successful use of sea power and maritime commerce as an agent of internationalism.

It was supremely necessary, consequently, not only that the German attack on international comity should be defeated as a whole, but that the submarine campaign against commerce as one particular instrument of that onslaught, should decisively fail. For if the German army had been beaten by overwhelming numbers on land, while at the same time the submarine had proved capable of disputing the ability of organized sea power to police the ocean highway, the victory would have been precarious. Either Germany or some other military nation would have been certain in the future and under more advantageous conditions to try once again a policy of terrorism. As long as such an attempt had a fair chance of success, the safety of any existing and growing society of nations could not be assured. For the growth of international authority will depend in the future as it has done in the past upon the policing of the ocean in the interest of an accepted system of public law. It will depend upon the ability of the ocean policeman to put a stop to marauding terrorism and insurrection on the high seas, no matter whether the marauders are Barbary pirates or wear the uniform of a great land power. In the past the policing has been done chiefly by the British navy, and the system of law of which it was the club was very far from assuring international order and justice, but it was the best the civilized nations had been able to formulate and accept. Sea power had to be vindicated in order that sea law might be preserved and developed.

Most salutary of all is the fact that the submarine attack instead of constituting, as the pan-Germans hoped, a weapon of victory or of accelerated attrition, may well prove to be the effective cause of German defeat. The decision of the German government to accept American enmity rather than forego the use of the submarine as a commerce destroyer was a mistake no less fatal than that of the violation of Belgium. By so doing it gained an immediate military advantage which has helped the German armies during the past summer, but the price paid for this advantage has turned out to be prodigious, almost immeasurable. Can any candid German who surveys the present plight of

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his country, surrounded and almost engulfed in a hostile world, refuse to admit the colossal, the almost incredible, bungling of his rulers? Never has a ruling class and a government more completely earned its own overthrow by the disastrous consequences of its policy.

Americans may be thankful that their country has been able to make an undisputably effective contribution to the defeat of German aggression. Their coöperation did not merely add a certain percentage to the aggregate and ultimate military and naval resources of the western Allies, it enormously increased the immediate efficiency of the whole anti-German military machine. It enabled the French and English governments to cure certain dangerous maladies in their system of war operation. American loans have helped them to maintain their credit. American soldiers were despatched with unexpected celerity to repair the deficiency in the reserve of French man power. American assistance assured them of the indispensable supplies of food, raw materials and manufacturing power. Because of it they could count for the campaign of 1918 upon a greater preponderance of heavy guns and munitions than ever before, upon a probably overwhelming superiority in the air, upon a decisive advantage over their enemies in all the materials of war. Most important of all, they could count upon a steadily increasing output of mercantile tonnage which they could not produce themselves, and which if it had not been forthcoming would have resulted in the gravest embarrassment.

The German government may or may not have anticipated the ability of America to repair the defects in the Allied war and economic machine. What they probably did not anticipate was the way in which smaller neutrals, as a consequence of American intervention, could be prevailed upon either to join the ranks of Germany's enemies or to stop the contributions which they were making to German success. The recent refusal of the American government to permit the sending of supplies to any neutrals bordering on Germany which are exporting food to Germany is one of the deadliest blows as yet aimed at the ability of that country to continue the fight. It means for the first time a practically complete economic blockade of Germany; one which would not have been possible without the actual coöperation of this country. Deprived of this source of supply the German government may well be unable to feed its people until the next crop is gathered. Finally, American intervention has brought into the Allied hands an increasing array of Asiatic and South American neutrals, which, while they will not make war on Germany, threaten her with the penalty at the end of the war of economic isolation. If the war persists much longer it will be possible to organize the whole world outside of central Europe against Germany, and to offer the German people the alternative of repudiating their rulers and accepting a fair settlement or of remaining the victim of a continuing economic boycott.

As soon as it is generally realized in Germany what the effects of the unleashing of the submarine have actually been and how far it may serve as the immediate cause of German defeat rather than German victory the popular dissatisfaction with the government will become more than ever formidable. For a long time German morale has depended largely upon the anticipated benefits of the submarine attack. As soon as the Germans began to understand that the submarine was at best a weapon of attrition, they started to agitate for peace; and once they fully realize its probably inferior serviceability even as a weapon of attrition, the agitation will irresistibly increase. The German government will be forced by this agitation to exceed very considerably its present intention in specifying conditions of peace. No wonder, consequently, the peace overtures from Germany and Austria are going further than they have done in the past, and no wonder the domestic opposition to the government is gaining in frankness and boldness. If after this final demonstration of the criminal bungling of their government the German liberals and socialists do not succeed in discrediting it in the eyes of the German people, they will show themselves inadequate to a great opportunity. Every additional act of terrorism ordered by the German ruling class for the purpose of getting away with the fruits of its criminal attack on Belgium has only plunged Germany into deeper difficulties. The lesson is written clear and if the German people cannot or will not learn it, the war will continue until they are willing or forced to do so.

The Anglo-American Future

DOES anyone—or "anyone who matters"—among the hundred and fifty million odd that make up the English speaking states of the world, now doubt that a closer political understanding between them in some form is desirable? The case for it, in abstracto, is so obvious, that with the more serious judgments in these matters which, it is to be hoped, the war has brought, one may question whether the policy of rapprochement of English speaking peoples would be resisted by any but little groups who place the indulgence of nationalist hates beyond all other political aims whatsoever.

What is the situation? In this afflicted world of ours, which beyond all else for its future well-being needs integration and the prevention of those

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suicidal rivalries that have cursed it in the past, we find scattered over its surface, even to its remotest parts, a single people, grouped into powerful and expanding states, numbering some hundred and fifty million souls and effectively directing and controlling other peoples numbering some hundreds of millions, the whole constituting certainly a fourth of the world's inhabitants. And this people of a hundred and fifty millions have an undoubted cultural identity, a practical community of those spiritual possessions that come of a common tongue and like nature, and basic law and remoter history and tradition—the things which make the realities of nationality; a growing economic interdependence, a common inheritance of the western hemisphere, a common interest in the maintenance of a sea power which has preserved that hemisphere from European rivalries and made the northern half of it an English speaking continent. If all this cannot be made the basis of fruitful political coöperation, then one can only conclude that men are never destined to learn that art which now seems the only alternative to some vast ultimate collective suicide. The wisdom of closer Anglo-American coöperation in some form can be as little questioned as the wisdom of organizing the world on a commonly agreed basis so as to do justice to all. But, in the one case as in the other, it is when one descends from the general conclusion to the particular application that the trouble begins.

All this is brought home forcibly in Mr. Beer's book, The English Speaking Peoples; Their Future Relations and Joint International Obligations. His contribution to the subject will certainly be an outstanding one. He calls his book very modestly a *livre de circonstance*. But it is much more than that, for he has dug his foundations very deep. He has realized that such a question as Anglo-American coöperation belongs to the larger question of the prevailing international anarchy and its intellectual and moral elements. Particularly suggestive and searching is his analysis of the modern state system and the need for discarding the prevailing concepts of "sovereignty" and "independence," of America's failure to realize her international obligations, of the essential unity of the English speaking peoples, of the economic interdependence of the United States and the British empire and the community of aim in resistance to German aggression.

But this after all is much in the nature of a preface to the real problem.

Most of what he has written on international anarchy, nationalism and sovereignty, the modern state system, the background of the war is profoundly true, but the practical conclusion to which it leads is often far more the immediate application of the wider internationalism of the League of Nations, than the duo-nationalism of an Anglo-American alliance. And while the practical difficulties of detail in a policy of closer Anglo-American coöperation are not neglected, we could wish that the order of emphasis in the treatment of the general and particular had been reversed.

Part of his own very interesting historical review of Anglo-American relations can be applied to illustrate the point. He recalls, what we are so apt to forget, that American statesmen nearly a hundred years ago—not a decade after the conclusion of an Anglo-American war—were nearer to accepting a definite, formal and far-reaching Anglo-American alliance as the corner stone of American policy than perhaps they have ever been since. And the specific purpose of that alliance was also the "making of the world safe for democracy" as against the aggression of autocratic monarchy.

But assuming that the passions of an exclusive nationalism had not wrought their vast evils in America as elsewhere during the nineteenth century, how could American statesmanship have grappled with the practical difficulties of an alliance which, though begun in the championship of Spanish rebels, of little American states and of Greek independence, would soon have found itself confronting the difficulties of Britain's world wide interests? To particularize: It has been a prime consideration of British policy for generations to control the road to India. It led Britain at one time to stand for the integrity of the Ottoman empire and against the creation of independent Christian states in the Balkans, and to fight Russia on behalf of that policy. Would America, as part of the obligations of an Anglo-American alliance, have associated herself with France and England therein? Or have supported the British occupation of Egypt? Or the suppression of the Boer republics? Or Anglo-French action in the Algeciras matter? Or the partition of Persia? Presumably not. Then the Anglo-American alliance could not have been a reality, for most Englishmen were passionately convinced that those policies were indispensable to the safety of the British empire and its institutions, for the maintenance of that balance of power without which British civilization would in fact not be secure. And it is not dissimilar questions which we have to put to ourselves in deciding the Anglo-American policy of the future.

Whether China can be protected will, Mr. Beer tells us, depend upon

> whether or not England, after the war, will be in a position that, in opposing Japan, she can afford to run the risk of that country joining the central empires. In the formation of this decision, the attitude of the United States in this special instance will necessarily count for little; the main consideration will ineluctably

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> be the general balance of power and purpose throughout the world, because on it will depend the safety of the British commonwealth. The greater need must override the lesser. America's coöperation in some isolated case alone with no firm assurance of immediate active support if again the greater issue be raised, would be no compensation for the possible defection of Japan to the Teutonic Powers.

In other words, to ensure the continued support of Japan England may be compelled to "disinterest" herself in the ultimate fate of China, unless American support extends to matters in which she may not be directly interested. Political alliances, as we have known them in the past, have always been founded on this principle. If Britain undertakes to aid Russia to Constantinople or Italy to other territorial ambitions, it is not because Englishmen regard those things as in themselves desirable but because they are the price which she pays to Russia or to Italy for assistance in aims of her own, even though those aims be simple security.

And yet Mr. Beer seems to be opposed to a general defensive alliance between the great states as a whole. He says (p. 164):

> A general offensive alliance with the Entente group, as a whole, would apparently be highly inadvisable, as the United States wisely does not want to be drawn deeply into the welter of European politics. Nor would such an arrangement effectively safeguard the two chief American policies, the Monroe Doctrine and Chinese integrity. For essentially the same reasons, a general alliance with France is out of the question, in spite of the depth of American sympathy for a harassed sister-republic. The future security of France and also of Italy and Belgium could be served as well by an alliance of the United States with the British commonwealth.

But any obligation to defend France or Italy is an alliance with those countries and will only defend them effectively—as Mr. Beer in other connections implies—if it is definite, public and explicit. "The outbreak of war," he remarks, "proved the inefficacy of the policy of understandings with ill defined obligations. If Germany had faced the positive fact that her attack upon France would bring the British Empire into the war, she would probably not have drawn the sword." And as to the definiteness of the Anglo-American alliance he says it must be "on clearly defined terms of unquestionable explicitness, made in the open light of day, so that those planning aggression could realize clearly the formidable obstacle in their path." (p. 164). That ties America inevitably to the European system. "Things which are allied to the same thing are allied to one another." For France and Italy to come into the arrangement for mutual protection, not as equal partners but as wards of the big brothers who would be in a position to dictate what were and were not legitimate aims of French and Italian national policy would certainly expose the combination to most unnecessary strains. Is the Anglo-American alliance to be, in fact, an overlordship of the lesser states? Then what becomes of that "settlement of international problems by the free and unfettered negotiation of all states big and little on a basis of equal right for all" which the war was to make possible?

Before we can answer the question: "Is an Anglo-American alliance advisable?" we must answer very definitely the question: "What will the alliance be for?" For justice and right throughout the world. Of course. But what is justice and right in the matter of Italian claims in Dalmatia, or Asia Minor, or northern Africa? And France's? And South Africa's in the case of the German Colonies? And England's in Mesopotamia? And Japan's in China? And Europe's generally in Africa? England will be obliged to have a policy concerning these questions; and an alliance with England means that we should support her policy and be responsible for it.

The truth is that Mr. Beer has made out a very much stronger case for the wider internationalism of the League of Nations than for the duo-nationalism of an Anglo-American alliance and the real problem is to make the lesser alliance a step toward rather than an obstacle to the greater one. Obviously the wider obligations cannot be escaped. Mr. Beer would be the last to urge that. The great difficulty of a balance of power alliance, or one founded on community of culture, is to see that its obligations do not override the more universal and more fundamental obligation. If, for instance, after the war, the Entente states, in the interest of the balance of power—for the purpose, that is, of retaining Italy within their group—should wink, say, at Italian violation of the settlement to Austria's disadvantage, the Central Powers would then know that they had only their own force to depend upon: and sooner or later the old evil competition would start afresh. Maintenance at all cost of the balance of power of a group is apt to prove incompatible with enforcement of any treaty to which states outside the group are party. And it is that sort of danger which must be avoided in any Anglo-American arrangement.

And yet there is assuredly a place for this great English speaking bloc in the assembly of the nations—not as a sort of suzerain power outside that assembly, but as a large and cohesive party animated by similar aims within it. It might well hold the balance of power therein, provided the purposes of the power are known and accepted.

What makes a democratic assembly workable—and the same rule will apply to the parliament of the nations—is that the assembly as a whole knows that the power of a predominant party within it will

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always be used within the limits of the constitution. If, for instance, it were feared that a majority would use its power, once having captured the government, to make themselves the autocratic and permanent masters of the state, it would be resisted by revolution. " Balance of power " is the method by which the forces within a state may work, but the limits of the power are known to those who are ready to yield to it. International politics are much less " problems of power " than problems of the use to which power will be put. And that applies to the potential power of the English speaking people.

Wake Up, America!

DESPITE all that pessimist may say, we are a nation remarkably united in fundamental purposes. There were indeed multitudes of our citizens who were opposed to our entering the war, but the vast majority of these have accepted the decision of the President and Congress without the slightest reservation. Opposition to the principle of conscription was expected to be everywhere in evidence. On this issue, some predicted, the country would be split wide open. It was not. No other democracy has ever accepted conscription for war with so little popular turmoil. It was prophesied that the decision to dispatch units of the National Guard to a foreign field would give rise to murmuring on the part of adherents of the states' rights doctrine. The prophecy proved false. It was feared that the presence in the country of large numbers of men of enemy nationality would produce grave civil disorders. We have had no disorder worth mentioning. Much of the credit for our generally satisfactory civil condition is no doubt due to the intelligence and the tact of the administration. But administrative intelligence and tact would not have gone far, if we were not as a nation supporting the war and desirous of acquitting ourselves well in its prosecution.

But there are impatient patriots who are nevertheless very discontented with the attitude of the American people. They discover, so they allege, an apathy towards the war. Too many men are going about their private affairs as if the world were not aflame. Something should be done to wake them up. Men who can talk should be sent throughout the country to expatiate upon the German brutalities, upon the menace to America of German success. Men who can write should crowd everything not ringing with war fervor out of the public press. You hear men, good patriots and honest humanitarians, regretting that the seas that separate us from the German submarine and aeroplane bases are so wide. A Staten Island ferryboat sent to the bottom, a crowded thoroughfare in Boston or New York or Philadelphia filled with murder and wreck by bombs from the skies, would wake America up. In default of horrors like these, those who would have America awakened look forward eagerly to the casualty lists that will come in after American troops are engaged. Patriotism must always be respected: nevertheless one is inclined to shudder when he overhears one gray-bearded patriot mumble to another, " Wait till the casualty lists come in."

What will an " awakened " America do that America is not already doing? More men may indeed volunteer in the regular army. But we who approve the war are pretty well agreed that the selective draft is a method of filling our armies that is far superior to volunteering. We do not have the least reason for believing that conscription will not provide men as rapidly as we can equip them and find ships to carry them. War mad, our munitions workers might accept longer hours and a more feverish speed. But British experience has taught us that the war is to be won by determined, sustained, industrial effort. Feverish spurts of activity reduce the national efficiency. A thoroughly aroused war spirit might make our general population cut down its consumption. But Mr. Hoover himself has urged us to avoid hysterical economy. Not abstinence from consumption, but intelligent selection will best subserve the national interest.

Most of all, we need ships. If America had really been somnolent, money might have been lacking for ships. There might have been reason for carrying on a campaign of fire and shouting to compel Congress to appropriate funds. But it is not lack of money that is holding back our building program. There are a host of technical problems to be worked out, problems of design and construction, problems of securing suitable labor and training it satisfactorily. On these problems experts are working day and night. They are not working fast enough to suit us. But how will the solution be advanced if a perfervid orator so thoroughly awakens Joplin, Missouri, or Fergus Falls, Minnesota, that not a householder will sleep for a week?

Next to ships, we need aeroplanes. Does anyone suppose that we have not already working at the problem all the expert abilities we possess? We ought to have more experts, no doubt. But how will the energy generated by a war publicity campaign be applied to the filling of this requirement? We need guns. Perhaps our arms factories are not responding satisfactorily to the requirements laid upon them. Wake them up then, in heaven's name. But let us be good Americans enough to apply our energies where they may be expected to do some

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good. Let us try to apply pressure to Washington, not to St. Louis or Salt Lake City.

But perhaps America needs to be awakened against the danger of a "German peace." The kind of peace America is willing to accept has been defined by the President to the satisfaction of the great mass of the people. We will not make peace at all with a Germany whose rulers retain the power to plunge into war without the deliberate consent of the representatives of the people. We will not make peace on conditions that offer Germany a scintilla of gain to offset the incalculable losses she has been compelled to share with the nations against which she has offended. But we will not continue the war after every reasonable object has been attained for the sole purpose of humiliating and penalizing Germany. We will not expend our lives to the end that a foundation may be laid in national bitterness for the next war. This is the President's policy. It is understood by the American people and accepted by them. They need not be awakened to it. They are already awake.

It may be that this policy does not seem drastic enough to those who sit at ease and yearn eagerly for the casualty lists to come in, long casualty lists, widely distributed, to make homes desolate and arouse the people to red fury. Perhaps America does not need to be awakened to the support of the President's policy, but to its overturn? That such is the animus of much of the war propaganda is obvious to everyone. Much of it, however, is well meaning, if unintelligent. Is it therefore simply to be ignored?

We shall play our part well or ill in this war according as we prove calm and resolute, or furious and hysterical. A propaganda like Mr. Hoover's for saving food is one that increases the determination of the people to win the war. It awakens us, and points out appropriate action that we can all participate in, to the palpable advantage of the nation. A propaganda like the Liberty Loan campaign of the Treasury Department likewise helps to build up the national determination. There are hosts of things we can do that will help to increase our national efficiency. Every propaganda that lays before us plans for immediate constructive action clarifies our purposes, strengthens our resolution. We can not have too much of such propaganda. But the propaganda of hate merely creates disorder and lames our national efforts.

Let us bear in mind that the men who are actually fighting in this war are leaving the composition of hymns of hate to the schoolmasters and politicians at home. The great men who have won wars like Caesar, Napoleon, Washington and Lincoln, have been men impervious to hate and contemptuous of its employment as a political device. Great fighting races like the Romans proceeded resolutely about their affairs, providing men and money as their national policy required. They left it to their enemies to whip themselves into hysterical rage, to commit atrocities upon occasional suspects within their reach, and then to go forth to be beaten. History has much still to say of us, but we expect her verdict to be that we proved a great people, a people capable of seizing a great purpose and pursuing it resolutely to its end. And if the verdict of history is less favorable we shall have reason to call to account those who are trying to carry us off our feet and make us evince the intolerance, unreason and hysteria of the trivial peoples that have deservedly gone down to defeat.

Imperialism and Intrigue

THERE is a colossal labor of explaining in prospect for the Germans. Of all the nations now extant, the Germans have spun the widest and stickiest web of intrigue. Lift a stone anywhere in the world, and a bloodsucking von Igel, a venomous von Luxburg, a scaly Bolo wriggles to cover. The urbane von Bernstorff, the ridiculous Zimmermann, the austere von Jagow, are successively exposed in the rôle of master spiders. High Germans and low Germans, all species and sub species, are implicated in the vile business. How are the Germans to reconcile this fact with their pretensions to straightforward manliness, to self-conscious strength, to alone-with-God honesty? Was German directness never more than a cloak to crooked scheming?

The plain German will have an adequate defense. The intrigue that now dishonors his national name does not spring from his proper character. It is a product of imperialism, and precedents for it extend to the remotest history of attempted world empire. Does anyone suppose that the great empires of the east attained to their glory through force of arms alone? No; we have light on their methods in the authentic history of the attacks upon Greece by the Persians—the honest Persians, one might almost say, the Teutonic Persians, whose young men were expected to learn only three things: to shoot, to ride and to speak the truth. Never did the Persians attack a Greek city without first penetrating it with spies, corrupting its leaders, tampering with its army. Even Spartan kings, even the great Themistocles, were caught in the net of Persian intrigue. When Athens aspired to Greek hegemony, her chief resource lay in her power of corrupting minorities in the cities over which she sought to rule. The imperialism of Rome was founded upon her skill in corruption as well as upon the valor of her legions. Caesar conquered Gaul

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largely by pitting Gauls against Gauls. He took cities by fomenting sedition within their walls as often as by direct attack. Every modern nation with imperialistic ambitions has employed similar methods. The German intrigues we are uncovering in America differ in only one essential respect from the German, Austrian and Russian intrigues of a decade ago in the Balkan states, from the Russian and British intrigues in Persia and the intrigues of all the Powers in China. The Germans have employed intrigue where the method does not work successfully.

Imperialism, by which we mean the control by one people of another, can make little headway by methods that are open and above board. Territory may be torn from a weaker people by force alone, as the Danish duchies were torn from Denmark, Alsace-Lorraine from France, but the subsequent holding of such territories involves infinite trouble. Imperialism on a large scale must refine its methods. It must know how to split into factions a people upon which it has designs. It must win to its cause men with a capacity for leadership, and provide them with means for building up a machine. When it has succeeded in this, a minimum of force from the outside is all that is required for the accomplishment of its purposes. Moreover, no great force is required to hold its winnings. The imperialist state needs only an ubiquitous espionage system to note what men give promise of leadership and to enlist them on the right side if they are venal and ambitious, or to destroy them if they are upright and recalcitrant. All this is part of the traditional technique of imperialism. That Germany should employ it follows naturally upon her espousal of world ambitions.

Where Germany departed from tradition was in her attempt to apply the methods of intrigue to nations too thoroughly unified to be susceptible to its influence. Caesar made up his mind to conquer Gaul only after he discovered that the whole country was rent by factional strife. Rome undertook the conquest of Greece when factionalism had reached such a pass that any invader could count upon support almost equal to resistance. Italian factionalism was the foundation of the Hapsburg domination of Italy. The antipathies of interpenetrating religions and nationalities have preserved Turkish imperialism to the present day. But in countries like France, England, the United States, Argentina, what basis is there in factionalism for the formation of a German party?

But the Germans are not adepts at foreign politics. They noted the bitterness of party strife in France, the economic struggle in England, the chaos of nationalities in America, and imagined that such situations must offer opportunity to foreign influence. They could not understand that beneath the surface appearance of dissension lies an essential political unity. They could not see that leadership is a narrowly restricted function in a democracy. Foreign gold might corrupt the leaders of a party in a democracy, but to what end? Any action of such leaders betokening foreign influence would be a signal for the defection of the chief part of their following.

And so German intrigue was bound to prove ineffective. Enormous sums of German money have doubtless been spent in America, but no one would maintain that they delayed the declaration of war by a single day. The Germans have nothing but failure to show for their investments in influence in Italy, France and England. A few ships sunk, a few munitions works blown up, a few labor troubles and draft disturbances fomented, these represent the sum of the positive achievements of German intrigue. And against this must be set the implacable anger of the democracy aroused by the plots that have been exposed. Without a spy or an "agent" outside of their boundaries, the Germans would have been nearer a peace tolerable to them than they are today.

Intrigue in international affairs will disappear with imperialism. When Germany has made up her mind that her future lies neither on the sea nor in the sun, but in the potentialities for work and life of her own people on her own soil, she will cease spending money on seductive emissaries of Germanism and sympathetic if greedy converts abroad. German intrigue has arrived in the world too late. The nations are advancing steadily toward democracy, and democracies are stony soil for imperialistic scheming. The failure of German intrigue has a meaning for other nations besides Germany. The era of expanding imperialism is closing.

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The New York Mayoralty Campaign

II

Mayor Mitchel's Record

HAS Mitchel, as Mayor of New York, governed for the rich against the poor? Is it necessary, in order to rebuke him, that liberals should vote for Hillquit, for Bennett, for Hylan, and so turn the city over to Hylan—to Hylan and Murphy and Hearst?

To whom, to what, is Mitchel's loyalty? It is utterly and unreservedly to government itself, to the nation, to the city. Mitchel starts with government. If, to be a liberal, one must start with certain ideas of emancipation, of emancipation in thought, of emancipation in industry, and regard government simply as the agency by which those ideas are to be promoted, then Mitchel is not, to any distinguished degree, a liberal. But, a paradox. He has promoted liberal ideas in a manner unprecedented in the city of New York.

In the first winter after he became Mayor there were processions and mass meetings, immense ones, threatening ones, in the streets and in the parks to voice the protest of the poor against unemployment. Tammany would have had just one remedy. It would have jailed the speakers and bludgeoned the crowds. Mitchel policed them. He kept the crowds quiet, orderly, and he let the speakers speak. They were many of them I. W. W. speakers. He let them speak. He established a precedent and a system. I remember that some time afterwards I heard a soap-box orator in Madison Square destroying all capitalism. I tested a policeman in the offing. I said: "Do you hear that man saying that nobody has a right to a dollar on his own money that he puts into his own business?" "He's a nut," said the policeman. "Why don't you stop him?" said I. "Nothing like that," said the policeman. "It's free speech now." "Can I speak against him?" said I. "All you like," said the policeman, "any time," and, then, as I turned away, "but, remember, young fellow, you bring your own soap-box with you. I don't provide the soap-boxes."

Mitchel made free speech a genuine, continuous, usable right in the public places of the city of New York. Why? I could try to make out that it is because he is at heart a radical. He is nothing of the sort. He is government. Let labor talk against capital, and capital against labor. Government, for Mitchel, is above them both. But let them not talk against government. Let them not advocate the physical destruction of property or of life: it is of the essence of government to ensure the physical safety of property and of life. And let them not advocate treason: it is of the essence of government to ensure the continuance of government. Those are the limitations Mitchel has placed on free speech. They explain why he is unruffled when anarchists denounce the house of Morgan and Company, and why he is stirred to action when the Friends of Irish Freedom denounce the determination of the government at Washington to seek its own survival by prosecuting this war, in conjunction with Britain, on European soil. They are limitations characteristic of a man who comes to this subject, as he comes to every other subject, from a starting place not psychological but purely governmental. Nevertheless, within those limitations, in the whole field of the conflict between labor and capital, to any extreme short of the advocacy of immediate physical violence, free speech thrives in New York as never before.

Is this for the rich against the poor? And is it really for the rich against the poor that Mitchel, beyond any previous mayor of New York, has enforced order, has turned every service performed by the city into an expert non-political service, and has extended those services boldly into fields never before covered?

Mitchel has immensely reduced the number of murders and of felonies and has utterly, admittedly, shattered to fragments the whole former gripping power of organized commercialized gambling and of organized commercialized prostitution. Whose daughters in thousands, under Tammany, became the victims of organized commercialized prostitution? The daughters of the rich or the daughters of the poor? Whose sons, in thousands, under Tammany, were genuinely ruined, beyond all hope of family help, by organized commercialized gambling? The sons of the rich or the sons of the poor? And has Mitchel's enforcement of order been of the slightest assistance to the rich in their disputes with the poor in strikes? On the contrary. The gunman who on behalf of the employer used to drive the picket off the streets is now himself driven off. He is a criminal, and he is treated as a criminal. Pickets in New York today exercise in full their full legal right of peaceful picketing. Tammany always abridged that right. Tammany always had to abridge it. You cannot permit picketing, any more than you can permit free speech, unless you are strong, unless you are efficient, unless you have a police force that can control a crowd.

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Tammany never, in the same sense as Mitchel, had such a police force. Under Tammany the free speech and the peaceful picketing permitted by Mitchel would have meant prodigious riots. Mitchel, by government, by strong government, has made possible liberal rights on the streets of New York.

But Mitchel's sort of government is not content with being strong government. It is also scientific government. And, by scientific government, when he turns every municipal service more and more into an expert service, he is on a road bound to end in benefiting the poor far more than it benefits the rich. In the city of New York in the three year period 1914-15-16 there were 3,000 fewer fires in buildings than in the previous three year period 1911-12-13. Who are most benefited? The owners, who are protected by insurance? Or the work people, who provide certainly nine out of ten of the lives imperiled and sacrificed by fires in tenements, in offices, in factories? And who were the people who had to be fought in order to reduce the fire hazard? Who are the people who appear day after day in the offices of the bureau of fire prevention, in person or by letter, to protest by every possible argument and by every possible influence against being obliged to obey the bureau's fire prevention orders? Are they work people or are they owners? People may sneer as they please against strong scientific government as the organ of the rich. No such reform as this in the fire hazard—and I could mention a hundred similar reforms under Mitchel—has ever been carried out, or ever can be carried out, except through utter fearlessness toward the well-to-do and with the overwhelming proportion of the benefit falling ultimately to the humble and the weak.

But Mitchel's sort of government, again, is not content with being strong and scientific. It is, also, expansive. It grows continuously. It pushes itself, for instance, through its Health Department, deeper and deeper into the industries of the city. It examines the physical surroundings and the personal physical health of thousands upon thousands of food handlers, furriers, painters, peddlers, department store employees, in their work places. It organizes, among the labor leaders of the city, the Labor Sanitary Conference, a permanent body, meeting with the officials of the Health Department to lay down, for employers and for employees, the best feasible programs for making work places promote, and not retard, the health of workers.

In spite of such expansions, continuous and numerous expansions, of the city's services, the total cost of the Mayor's departments is this year $1,707,000 less than it was three years ago. That takes "experts," Mr. Hylan. The increase in the tax rate is due to things lying outside the administrative expenses of the Mayor's departments. Among such things, for a small illustration, one may mention the $1,286,000 for widows' pensions in the separate Department of Child Welfare. That Department is established by statute of the state of New York. Will Hylan seek to abolish that statute? Will he seek to remit the children of those widows to their old position on the pay rolls of private charity?

The one thing done by Mitchel to increase the tax rate, without immediate compensating economies, in matters directly under his hand, is the "Pay-As-You-Go" plan. Will Hylan restore the old system of borrowing huge sums of money, of issuing immense masses of bonds, on which interest must be paid for long terms of years, to put into pavements and other improvements which yield the city not one cent of revenue? He talks as if he would, but, unless he goes utterly mad, he will not. The time has come when any such policy would crack the city's credit and start its bond market toward ruin.

Mitchel has dared to raise the tax rate by making present wealth pay now for improvements from which the city of our children will get no money income. And he has dared, while effecting administrative economies of a thoroughly compensating sort, to maintain all of the city's existing administrative services, expertly improved, and then to add to their number. Are these things for the benefit of a class or for the general welfare?

The fact is that there is just one count on which Mitchel can be charged, in any genuinely important way, with having governed for the benefit of a class. That is, that he is not an enthusiast for "public ownership of all public utilities." I pass over the charges about "real estate rings." Anybody who can believe that the Mayor is a criminal in the matter, for instance, of Rockaway Park, when the purchase of that park was advocated by Jacob A. Riis and Lillian D. Wald and Cardinal Farley, and when the amount of money paid for it was fixed by a court after regular condemnation proceedings, is in no mood for argument. And I pass over the charges about the "capitalistic" character and the "enslaving" consequences of the "work-study-play" plan of school teaching, brought into New York from Gary. Anybody who can believe that the Gary plan is "capitalistic" when it has been endorsed by the central labor body of Gary, or that it is "enslaving" when it gives its pupils a really smaller dose of manual work than is given to the boys of certain schools of the very rich, is likewise in no mood for argument. These charges have their only importance in the revelation they make of the mental character and

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of the moral character of the persons who are now trying to replace an efficient and nationally loyal mayor with a mayor voluble against "experts" and tongue-tied against Germany. The charge about public ownership is different. It is a just charge. Mitchel is not an enthusiast for "public ownership of all public utilities." I wish he were. I wish he were a convert to the philosophy which objects, in principle, to the private ownership of any public utility whatsoever. He is not.

It cannot be because he fears to hurt rich people. He has hurt rich people harder and oftener than any other mayor of our days. He cancels the lease of the Luckenbach Steamship Company on its city pier in Brooklyn, because the company is making subleases in violation of its contract with the city, and deprives the company of enormous excess profits, of the sort at which Tammany used to wink; and when he takes the pier which was withdrawn from the Hamburg-American Line and re-lets it to the Kerr Steamship Company, he takes full advantage of market conditions, just as if he were representing a private firm, and actually quadruples the annual rental coming into the city's treasury. He sues the Underground Conduit companies to compel them to disclose concealed profits and to punish them for that concealment by forfeiture of their franchises. He forces the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company to pay several hundreds of thousands of dollars a year more on its established right-of-way over city property. He appears against the New York Edison Company before the Public Service Commission and twice obliges it to reduce its rates to the public and so to diminish its own income by some $1,750,000 a year. In the street-lighting department he introduces the nitrogen lamp, which consumes current economically, to replace the arc lamp, which consumes current wastefully; and the private electric light company, which supplies the current, will thereupon sell the city millions of dollars less of it than under Tammany. He exacts from all the private companies with which the city has dealings the very last cent of money and the very last ounce of service to which the city is administratively entitled.

Nor can it be because he has any philosophy against public ownership. He has steadily demanded from the legislature, for the city, the right to go into the business of buying and selling food—a business infinitely more venturesome than the business of operating a public utility. He has also steadily forwarded the project of publicly owned wholesale terminal markets. He has committed himself to the "Torrens System" of land titles which transfers to public hands a whole deeply entrenched private privilege in title inquiries and title guaranties. He is pledged to public ownership in underground conduits and to the completion of public ownership in the water supply.

What is the explanation of such an apparently inconsistent set of policies—policies which, at certain points, reject public ownership and at certain other points (points sometimes more difficult) embrace it? It lies in the fact that Mitchel is interested not in philosophical principles but in physical *services*. If he can get those services, effectively, from existing institutions, he is content. If he cannot get them from existing institutions, then, and only then, he goes on to make new institutions. That is why he was willing to bargain with the New York Central Railroad Company for the improvement, by the company, of New York's terminal facilities along the company's right-of-way on the West Side of Manhattan, under an arrangement which he regarded as commercially advantageous to the city and financially advantageous to the city government. And that is why, in the case of the Brooklyn Marginal Railway project, when the existing private Eastern Trunk Line Railroads drew back from an arrangement advantageous to the city and to the city government, Mitchel denounced them publicly for "breaking faith" and at once committed himself, as an alternative, to public ownership and operation.

Such is Mitchel, in his qualities, and in the defects of his qualities. He is a business type, with a loyalty, which might have gone to business, given to municipal administration. The city has been, in the whole course of his life, really the only employer he has known. His law practice, when he left it, some eleven years ago, at the age of twenty-seven, was very young, merely starting. His extraordinary talents as an executive had never been wrenched, by service of large private interests, to any anti-public bias. He is today that most unusual thing—a natural-born executive become a public man, from his youth. Of how many public men (at Washington, for instance) can it be said that they stand the executive equals of the business men with whom they must day by day deal? Mitchel so stands; and, if certain of the rich, unable longer to tolerate the gross and barbarous inefficiency of Tammany, have chosen to support him, it is nevertheless completely impossible to show except by deliberate perversion of the history and of the meaning of such thoroughly innocent and democratic projects as Rockaway Park and the Gary plan that he has permitted any group of the rich to influence in any particular his unswervingly impartial administration of his departments of the city government. That administration has conferred countless new benefits upon the mass of the people and no special favors whatever on any special class whatever.

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If the people now, because Mitchel is supported by certain of the rich, and because he is not out-and-out for all public ownership of all public utilities, vote in such a way as to turn the city back to Tammany, they will be doing the kind of thing that has made the children of light a laughing-stock to the children of darkness from the beginning of time.

Tammany's sort of public ownership appeared clearly in Tammany's municipal lodging house. When Mitchel came into office, he found some fifty beds in the municipal lodging house possessed as permanent perquisites by political loafers. He chased the loafers out and freed the lodging house for the genuine transient use of genuine workingmen needing temporary help. Against political influence, against commercial influence, against every influence, Mitchel has kept his departments sound and honest and has confirmed them in instincts and habits of scientific service. Sure and deep he has laid those foundations of efficiency, those traditions of uninfluenced devotion to the public welfare, without which government, however well intentioned, remains forever the prey of corrupt and reactionary wealth and without which liberalism remains a phantasy of the library.

Mitchel is making a thoroughly liberalized New York administratively possible. Tammany would make it administratively impossible. That is the rich-versus-poor issue in this New York election, in its practical meaning, in full.

WILLIAM HARD.

Selecting for Service

GIVEN a non-military democratic nation of one-hundred million heterogeneous people, stretching across several thousand miles, in a war which does not involve the defense of any of its frontiers; to select, without unfairness and with as little damage to normal activities as possible, 685,000 young men in good physical condition, and deliver them as future soldiers to army cantonments at the end of three months: This is the problem in administration which someone had to undertake last spring. That the men are ready for delivery on time, with the approval of the country, is itself remarkable. Whatever unfairness and confusion there may have been in the process seem, under the circumstances, unavoidable, and it is impossible to withhold admiration from the job and the man who superintended it.

Provost-Marshal General Crowder, under his awe-inspiring title, is a person without military or other furbelows. He is no more hesitant about preparing his attack and then charging into the entanglements of complicated administrative difficulties than the conventional soldier is about surveying and storming hostile defenses. About his manner there is a likable touch of the old-style lawyer's pride in verbal correctness, overlaying the soldier's conscientious simplicity. Though little known to the public, General Crowder has always been popular in the War Department. He handled the legal work incident to Dewey's occupation of Manila, formulated the island government, and sat for a time as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines. In Cuba he drew up the electoral laws; the first Cuban election was held under his supervision; he acted as Secretary of State for Cuba under the Magoon régime, and made the preparations for the transfer to an independent Cuban government. And in the disinterested glow with which he describes some special triumph in the course of his task, one feels that touchstone of the socially valuable man—constructiveness, the spirit of workmanship.

In the absence of any sufficient federal or army machinery it was felt wise to administer the draft as far as possible through local civil authorities, both because these could be more readily improvised, and because their employment would be more tactful in dealing with local pride or resentment, and varying conditions requiring some elasticity. At the same time, the federal government had to embark on a thorough definition of the law in its manifold details and undertake a campaign of education of the 4,557 local boards, including some 50,000 individuals.

That General Crowder and his advisers, civil and military, were on the alert in this matter is shown by the fact that by the time conscription became a law the state authorities were already well informed regarding its probable administration, ready to appoint the registration boards, and prepared to distribute to them the large amount of instructions and blanks necessary. When General Crowder recommended to Secretary Baker that only ten days should elapse between the President's proclamation and registration day, Mr. Baker protested that this would not allow time for the necessary material to be distributed. In order to carry his point the General finally had to tell Mr. Baker that while they were talking, registration cards were already in Seattle.

A glance over the pile of the documents sent out impresses one with the magnitude of the task that

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had to be done so quickly. There are, first, two fat booklets, one containing the Rules and Regulations supplementary to the law, for local and district boards (84 pages) and the other the Appendix to these Rules, containing copies of the multifarious forms and affidavits necessary in carrying them out (176 pages). Both are indexed. Then there is a pamphlet of Registration Regulations, and one of Suggestions to local boards as to their duties and their procedure. Others are listed as follows:

Manual Governing the Keeping of Records.
Regulations Governing Disbursements.
Regulations Governing Physical Examinations.
Regulations Governing the Apportionment of Quotas and Credits.
Mobilization Regulations.

As the draft proceeded countless questions began to pour into the state headquarters, and such of these as had not been fully anticipated in the printed material were referred to the Provost-Marshal General's office. This resulted in the issuance from time to time of new leaflets with additional rulings, to meet difficulties as they arose. What, for instance, should be done in case of a resignation from a local board? How could a man get a permit for a passport? Should Red Cross men be exempted? What about men who by mistake had registered in two districts? What should be done about men recently married?

The work of the local boards is, on the whole, one of the most impressive features of the draft administration. To digest the large mass of unfamiliar material, organize, register nearly ten million men, and—for many of the registration boards were continued as exemption boards—examine approximately two and a half million men, apply the exhaustive rules for exemption and discharge, keep all the precise records, deliver the selected recruits to the army—and do all this on time without being lynched—required a high devotion both to country and to diligence. Many members of these boards worked sixteen hours a day, and without compensation. It is not to find fault with the work either of the boards or of the Provost-Marshal General's office that the procedure is discussed here in view of the next quota.

Various changes in the law have been suggested. Whether aliens are to be included in the next draft is now uncertain, for that has to depend a good deal on the results of diplomatic negotiation. If they are not included, however, the quotas of districts for the second draft should be so revised that the inequality of the first will be remedied. This would, it is true, leave more able-bodied workers, irrespective of their citizenship, in some districts than in others, but that is to be preferred to the present premium on non-citizenship. In general, changes in the law are deprecated. Changes in rulings, however, may be more easily made than changes in the law.

One of the objections comes from the unfortunate town of Tewkesbury, Massachusetts. Tewkesbury, so it is said, contains a large insane asylum, many of the inmates of which under the law had to register. And, as the size of the quota was based on the registration, while insane men naturally could not be drafted, practically the whole male population of Tewkesbury between 21 and 30 is now under arms. Certainly quotas should be revised so that towns should not have to pay so dearly for public institutions or prisons.

The most widespread confusion arose over discharges for dependency. The regulations permit discharge of a man with relatives of various specified degrees who are " dependent on his labor for support." The word " labor " is carefully defined, but " dependent " is not. The affidavits provide no clue to the definition of the word, except by making sure that the relative does not receive a living income from property. Most of the local boards therefore assumed that anyone who could swear to the affidavit should be discharged. New rulings on this matter, however, began to arrive. It was directed that the future soldier's pay should be considered in judging his relatives' possible dependency. It was stated that any wife who might reasonably expect to be taken care of by her parents or other relatives was not a dependent. At one time a ruling seemed to imply that any wife who was capable of supporting herself, even though at the moment she was not doing so, was not a dependent, though later this interpretation was denied. These apparently contradictory rulings were stated by the Washington headquarters not to be contradictory at all, since they were all elaborations of the intent of the law, which was to prevent soldiers' relatives from becoming public charges. The affidavits were not altered. Nevertheless the rulings caused actual changes in practice. Men were discharged in the first part of the draft who would not have been discharged in the last part. Men were discharged in one district who would not have been discharged two blocks away. This section of the regulations should now be made clear, and new affidavits issued, with ample space for information, putting the responsibility for giving all the necessary information on the drafted man.

The regulations did not specify in much detail the principles to be applied by the district boards in industrial and agricultural exemptions. This was on account of a justifiable belief that, in the first place, not enough men would be taken from any given locality so that exemption would be necessary

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except in certain easily recognizable cases, and, in the second place, a good deal of elasticity should be allowed on account of varying conditions. This looseness caused a lot of uncertainty to the boards. We are now, however, in a different position. Subsequent draft will cut more deeply into our working body, and the district boards have had enough experience so that the most prevalent puzzles can be compiled and solved. Two other activities of the government ought to be consulted also in determining industrial exemptions. The War Industries Board ought soon to be able to tell which are the most indispensable trades, and the labor census about to be undertaken by the public employment bureaus should give an idea of the available labor supply in each.

Another question that should be thoroughly examined is whether the personnel of the exemption boards should be changed. Many of the men have already sacrificed much and deserve a respite. Others were automatically appointed, or appointed under the influence of political favoritism—or the reverse—and can be improved upon. Against changes there is General Crowder's feeling that since the men have now been broken in they would in any case be better than new appointees, and his belief that these boards have now become so familiar with their communities that they will become centers of military information and mediators between the army and the people. The state councils of defense should be called in on this question.

There are many other matters to investigate. Was enough money appropriated to take care of all expenses? Was it readily enough accessible to the men doing the work? Is it possible now to make it more accessible without fear of extravagance by a more exact knowledge of the amount of clerical help and office room necessary? Is it wise now to go ahead with examination of all the remaining registered men? That would depend largely on the probability of calling them. If aliens are to be drafted, should the next quota be composed so largely of aliens as it would be if aliens already exempted are taken all together? What is to be done about registering the men who have become twenty-one since June 5th?

Perhaps the greatest benefit of all would be derived from a simplification of the regulations for popular understanding. They exist now in lawyer's English, arranged like a legal code. They should be diagrammed, charted, tabulated, written in plain language, advertised. A good office manager or publicity man could easily make them more accessible for day-by-day use. Somebody should be directed to look into the mind of the drafted man, and prepare to tell him effectively the things he wants to know. He should be given the opportunity to learn the process he has to go through, to understand the affidavits he has to sign. We should give everybody a better chance to coöperate in the success of conscription.

For in spite of the incidental confusion—in part because of it—the administration of the Selective Service law has been a great and valuable experience in organized coöperation. It has demonstrated a national intelligence, unity and goodwill that all the flag-waving and heresy-persecuting in the world would not have proved. It is the sort of achievement which is now giving us confidence that the difficult social and political obligations of an uncertain future can be encompassed by democracy.

GEORGE SOULE.

Your Money or Your Life

MARS is still thirsty, and the young men of America are assembling to the end that he may drink. Many are destined to be victims; each knows that his lot may be among those to be drawn. Do they then move with an air of sacrificial solemnity? No; whether volunteers or conscripts, they appear cheerful, even joyous. There are downcast faces enough to be seen on the city's streets; but one will wander far before he will encounter one sad-faced man in uniform. More lives! shouts Mars with brazen throat. O Mars, they are given freely.

Mars wants also money, wants money even more than men. He gets it; but is it given freely? Let us look about us. Nowhere is any man asked to strip himself of his capital wealth. Nowhere is any man asked to give the services of his wealth freely. Men of large means are asked to give part of their income, but never so much of it as to reduce them to privation. Men of small means are asked to contribute here and there the price of a humble luxury; a cigar, a moving picture ticket, a pinch of tea or coffee. The steel manufacturers, the railways, the coal operators, the farmers, are asked to content themselves with modest profits. No one is asked to serve without profit. The laborer is asked to give his services, not freely, not at rates corresponding with the allowances of his brother in the field, but in return for pay, that, as the world goes nowadays, is good. Yet the country is filled with murmuring. Those who must pay income or profits taxation complain bitterly, if not in the public press, at least in their private clubs, over their black coffee. Universal is the muttering that arises when it is proposed to levy consumption taxes of wide incidence. Two-dollar coal throws a dark pall upon the patriotic enthusiasm of the mining magnate; two-dollar wheat almost raises sedition in the breast

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of the farmer, bulwark of democracy. And were any class of labor, however well paid, required to abate its claims to its customary standard of pay—But there are limits beyond which even hypotheses are nefarious. Mars shouts savagely, More Money! Take it, O Mars, but leave us the relief of grumbling and groans.

What a cynical misrepresentation of the spirit of a people, someone exclaims. The rich do indeed object to excessive income taxes, but why? Because, if large incomes are pruned to the very stock, how shall the rich contribute to government loans? How shall charities be supported; how shall the higher learning and scientific research be financed? The profit makers counsel moderation in public exactions, but are they animated by desire for rapid enrichment? Drastic profits taxation takes the spirit out of business, and by business, if not alone, yet chiefly, shall we be saved. The coal mine operators mourn over two-dollar coal, not because two-dollar coal will yield insufficient wealth to the producer, but because it will yield insufficient warmth to the consumer. The farmer wanted three-dollar wheat in order that he might be able to bring relief to a world threatened by starvation. And if labor refuses to abate its claims to more, more here and now, is this not because labor recognizes, as all the world should recognize, that a high standard of living is a prerequisite to efficiency? It is patriotism that makes us give freely of our lives. It is also patriotism that makes us cling resolutely to our money.

The optimist's case is as plausible as the cynic's, and much more pleasant. To discredit it would be a sin. But man was born to sin; therefore, be it observed that it is not patriotism alone that makes men with disposible income prefer to accept in exchange for it, rather than mere tax receipts, interest bearing bonds, destined to appreciate when peace returns. It is something short of patriotism that makes men with disposible income shelter their claims to immunity from governmental exactions behind the merits of that small minority—perhaps five, possibly ten, out of a hundred—who actually contribute substantially to charities, learning and research. The man who fears that profits taxation will check business is imputing to business men in general, if not to himself, an unwillingness to give their best to the nation at war except under the stimulus of rich gains. The coal operator and the farmer would present a clearer case of patriotic intention if they published a resolve to give freely to the government whatever surplus above expenses remained to them out of the prices they consider fair. And even labor might improve its case if it concentrated its forces upon raising the wages of the unskilled workers, among whom efficiency is most visibly reduced by miserable living. Only a German will avow a purely selfish motive. All other men have the ingenuity to find a moral or social cloak for their private interests. We cling to our money, for reasons that sound moral and social in English. How would they sound in Deutsch?

It is easy for militant radicalism to inject a class color into the contrast between our willingness to give lives and our reluctance to give money. In the nature of the case, most of the willingness to give lives is evinced by the poorer classes; most of the reluctance to give money is evinced by the richer classes. But the contrast runs along class lines only by accident. It happens that in this country the self-made man is still the predominant type among the rich; and one does not get one's self made until long after military age. Even the sons of the rich are unlikely to come into their fortunes until they are beyond the age of maximum military serviceability.

Such men as are both young and wealthy, however, have not been found grudging of their lives. Men outside of the wealthy class who are not young dislike taxes, even such as they can well bear. Evidently, then, we are dealing here not with class characteristics, but general characteristics, when we contrast men's willingness to give their lives with their unwillingness to give their money.

Why should the contrast seem paradoxical, after all? When one gives his life he yields up the usufruct of his life's estate. But he is relieved of the operating expenses of his life's estate. A man, let us say, has an income of $2,000 or $10,000 or $50,000. By the rule of living to which most of us submit he has expenses of $2,000 or $10,000 or $50,000. What is the capital value of his life's estate? So far as the pecuniary summation is concerned, it is zero. And the non-pecuniary items show, with many, an equally fatal tendency to balance. Bright days of sunshine alternate with dreary days of fog and rain. Saturday holidays alternate with Puritan Sabbaths, or Continental Sundays with blue Mondays. Lovers' kisses signal across the ledger to lovers' quarrels.

Die Welt ist rund und muss sich drehen
Was oben war muss unten stehen
Wein da!

The wine isn't always there, and if it is, a headache lurks in its rosy bubbles.

But gold?

" How beauteous are rouleaus! How charming chests
Containing ingots, bags of dollars, coins
(Not of old victors, all whose heads and crests
Weigh not the thin ore where their visage shines)

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But of fine unclipt gold, where dully rests
Some likeness, which the glittering cirque confines,
Of modern, reigning, sterling, stupid stamp:
Yes! Ready money is Aladdin's lamp!"

Take my life, O Mars, and perhaps I'll cheat you, nevertheless. Perhaps you'll find more liabilities than assets on my ledger. Certainly you will find some liabilities. Take my money, income or capital, and you take only assets.

Truth is harsh: our argument is harsh: is it sound? No, it conceals one serious flaw. It minimizes the real cost of war. These men in uniform looking across the seas to France, and perhaps to a more distant shore, are young and physically sound. Life is sweet to them; bright days give way in their experience to glittering dreams. Their ledgers contain few liability items, and these are trifling. The men at home from whom Mars wants money and nothing else are for the most part of mature years. For them money is power, and life, for money has thrust itself between them and the most vital of their desires. Your money or your life, shouts Mars, remorselessly. Your life when life is sweet; but your money when life saddens toward its decline, and you most need money to advance your purposes into the dimness beyond.

ALVIN JOHNSON.

Mothering the Munition-Maker

II

The Welfare Worker

THERE is an obvious attractiveness about the idea of employing trained workers to attend to the welfare of women employees. There is always in every factory where women are employed, except in the textile trades, where they are on the whole well paid and a large proportion of the women continue their work after marriage, a certain lack of seriousness about the organization of the workers' comfort. The girls are aware that their factory life is only the prelude to marriage and refuse to waste their youth in attempting to remove the prevailing carelessness about nutrition and physical wellbeing.

One may easily conceive the value to them of an educated woman whose business it is to look to the canteens and to the cleanliness of the workshops and lavatories and cloak-rooms; to investigate any complaints that the girls may make about the conditions of their work or the conduct of their overseers; to watch over the medical arrangements and see that there is an efficient nurse and a convenient hospital and dispensary; to keep a list of clean and respectable lodgings for the girls; to engage them and see that they are not put to work to which they are physically unsuited; to discuss the circumstances of each discharge; and to make the employer feel that he has domesticated the factory acts. Than that last, nothing could be more desirable, for our factory inspectors are far too few in number, are appointed mainly through influence, and have their time eaten into by their duty of bringing their prosecutions in person. If the welfare worker did nothing else than keep her eyes open for breaches of industrial law she would justify her existence.

I find myself glowing as I record this list of duties; I find myself conceiving the welfare worker as the little child that shall lead them. But in point of fact the welfare worker is a failure. Here and there a brilliant personality, such as Miss Lilian Barker of Woolwich Arsenal, gains a purely personal success, but where the office is filled by an ordinary efficient woman without magic it is as often as not resented by the workers and practically never evokes any enthusiasm. Ever since the appointments became common they have provoked discontents and criticisms all over the country. And the committees appointed by the government to inquire into the causes of industrial unrest have included in their reports a sober recognition that welfare work must be numbered among those causes. This alone should warn other countries that the British Welfare Department is not an institution to be imitated—except in so far as its work consists of convincing employers that the provision of decent canteens, recreation rooms, lavatories and hospital accommodation is a business proposition that pays.

There are several reasons for this failure. Chief among them is the fact that the welfare workers are drawn almost as exclusively as the philanthropic workers from the middle classes. Labor regards this with a resentment which is entirely reasonable. The middle class woman is often extremely ignorant about industrial conditions, and nothing has happened to educate her. At a time when most munition-makers were on twelve hour shifts I heard a woman who was going to become a welfare worker say, "I shall enjoy teaching the poor creatures how to use their spare time." One could not hope that the year's training at a university and voluntary work in a factory which is required of every welfare worker would dispel all her ignor-

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ance and the prejudices that would certainly flourish in its shadow. And that the training has not this miraculous effect is proved by labor's sober complaint that it does not wish its welfare to be in the care of women who do not understand its life and who are seduced by a sense of social superiority into attempts to give it not what it wants but what they think is good for it.

Another reason is the welfare worker's lack of status. The Ministry of Munitions automatically appoints a welfare worker to all national factories and in such cases she is of course a state official responsible to the Ministry. But the national factories are in such an anarchical condition, so unsupervised by labor organizations and so often handed over by the Ministry to the uncriticized control of some " efficient " engineer, that in these cases she has sometimes neither the influential position nor the clear definition of her duties which a state official might expect. In many cases her recommendations receive no attention from a Ministry whose prime consideration is output; and in at least one national factory the welfare worker thinks it her duty, and pursues it unchecked, to suppress trade unionism. But in the ordinary privately owned though state controlled establishment the welfare worker is in even a worse position, for she receives her salary from the employer and is responsible to him. Consequently the threat of dismissal always hangs over her head and she may, particularly if she is a conscientious person who does not wish to leave her flock untended, be forced into a lax performance of her duties. And where there is this arrangement labor says that the welfare worker is the employer's servant. It is hard to see where labor is wrong.

It naturally follows that the Ministry of Munitions accepts as welfare work any philanthropic work which the employer chooses to install. As a sample of the singularities of benevolence to which this confidence may lead there is a certain factory where two thousand girls are employed, where the managing director, a man of real generosity and kindly feeling towards his women employees, has spent money freehandedly on the canteen and recreation hall and has made liberal arrangements for the supply of good food by one of the best English contractors. But there is, as one might suspect from the care which he had taken to have the canteen decorated in the right Oxford and Cambridge shades of blue because those were the Universities of himself and his partner, a certain irrelevance and capriciousness about his benevolence. He had taken the hospital nurse who had attended his wife when she had appendicitis and placed her at the head of a staff of six similarly trained nurses to undertake the welfare work of this large factory. The obvious consequence was an inexpert administration which made it, as one of the girls said, " an hour's struggle " to get one of those wholesome meals in the beautiful canteen. If one reads again the list of the welfare worker's duties and speculates on the capacity of these nurses for performing them, and notes that here the employer feels that his care of the girls justifies a rigid suppression of trade unionism, one may judge whether labor gains anything from this " welfare work."

Even more mischievous is the sanction which the Ministry gives to the appointment as welfare worker of the wife or relative of the employer. This means that the most valuable part of welfare work, the policing of industry, is abandoned altogether and that things are left exactly as they are. The good employer sends his good wife down to his good factory and she blesses the existing conditions; the bad employer sends his bad wife down to his bad factory and she blesses the existing conditions. And always there appears the tendency to supervise the private lives of the workers. The employer's wife, with the conviction of the parasite woman that her sex ought to be submissive and the conviction of the capitalist that the workers are her property, feels that she has a right to the absolute control of every moment of the girls' lives. Sometimes this feeling takes amazingly crude forms. When peace returns we shall submit to the sympathetic attention of Professor Freud the strange case of the wife of the managing director of a great shipbuilding corporation who went from machine to machine asking the operators questions about their most intimate affairs on the lines suggested by Sanchez in De Matrimonio. This manifestation perished of its own crudity; she was inefficient in other ways, and the dirty cups and saucers of the canteen she had mismanaged flew about her head as she ran down a cinder track to her motor car.

But far more dangerous are the factories where the employer's wife sets out with what seems the laudable aim of establishing " a good moral tone." If this meant that she prevented the foul language and horseplay that often render existence unendurable to the decent employee it would be laudable, but it usually means that she goes further and sets up a censorship of morals and of characters. To take one point of dispute, it would seem obvious that whether an unmarried mother is allowed to come back to the works after the birth of her child should depend entirely on the attitude of the girls who are going to work with her, but many welfare workers decide offhand to " raise the moral tone " by discharging all unmarried mothers. The cruelty and absurdity of this in some of the industrial towns where poverty and bad housing

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conditions cause a permanently high illegitimate birthrate is patent. And in at least one case where this is not so, in a factory where the moral tone is actually very high, the discharge of an unmarried mother has led to a strike. The girls objected to the supervision of their private lives by the employer; they pointed out that it has never been the custom to discharge a workingman because an affiliation order has been made out against him; and they were shocked at the cruelty to the child of destroying its mother's earning power.

Another form taken by this proprietary zeal for "morality" is a desire "to look after the girls in the evenings," which is as much an attack on marriage as it is on immorality. The race will abruptly come to an end if all the welfare and philanthropic workers succeed in their intention of keeping the female youth of England learning Morris dancing and playing Ludo in what are grimly called "recreation huts" when it should be courting. But subtler and worse than these things is the way the welfare workers sift the characters of the employees, rejecting those who are "cheeky" and those who belong to what local gossip reports to be "bad families," and retaining—for there is no shortage of women's labor and they can pick and choose—only "nice quiet girls." It is not a little thing that the women of the working classes should, just at the age when strong characters tend to be boisterous, have their economic future decided for them by women who want employees to behave like school girls and regard the factory staff as their school teachers. It means that the woman industrial worker is to be tainted with the supineness and gentility that are the defects of the servant class, and that the man industrial worker is to be hampered in his fight for social reorganization by the presence in the labor market of a large number of submissive children.

For these reasons America ought not to borrow the institution of welfare worker from England. Her work can easily be performed without her. The task of policing industry is far better undertaken by a multiplication of the existing staff of factory inspectors, which should remain, in order that their recommendations should not be shelved, under a department that is not directly concerned with the output of the factories. The management should be responsible for the hospital arrangements just as the colliery manager is responsible for the safety precautions in his pits. The direction of the canteens and hostels should be shared by the employer and elected committees of the employees, and they should be staffed by professional attendants who will do the work in a businesslike way without trying to gain moral ascendancy over the workers.

There remains a certain amount of work the nature of which was borne in upon me when a welfare worker, who was also an employer's wife, showed me, with a beautiful air of the consciousness of charity well performed, her card index dealing with the engagement and discharge of the girls and their wages. It is cant to call this welfare work at all; it is part of the ordinary management of a factory. If there are grounds for disliking it to be done by men works managers let there be women works managers also; for though the majority of women pass rapidly through industry to marriage there is a small minority of permanent workers who could safely be given posts of responsibility.

But here, just when one was beginning to hope that women were going to get their chance of a fair field and no favor in industry, there has sprung up an insolent habit of giving the foremen's jobs to "ladies by birth." Feminists must watch lest their anxiety for the wellbeing of women does not seduce them, as it has done to some extent in England, to the support of the assumption which is at the back of this quaint custom and most "welfare work," that to women the capitalist can still do with impunity all the things he no longer dare do to men.

REBECCA WEST.

Some Cursory Remarks on Swearing

THERE is no doubt that the habit of profane swearing—always common in the conversation of lumber-jacks and sailors, also in the mental soliloquies of gentlefolk—has greatly increased among all classes of society in the twentieth century. (In writing this very sentence, my Hammond stuck, and I made a quite unnecessary comment.) Sir Thomas Wyatt, testifying in court, admitted that in moments of anger he rapped out an occasional oath, and while he felt it necessary to apologize, he evidently thought it more of a peccadillo than a sin. For a time the Puritans drove oaths off the stage and banished them even from the interchange of street amenities; which may be the reason why Anglo-Saxons do not yet say "My God!" whereas the French exclaim "Mon Dieu" and the Germans "Ach Gott" without turning a hair. Indeed, Americans, with a smattering of foreign expletives, use these terms freely, the reason being, as Max O'Rell used to say, that they think God understands only English. I remember being shocked in my youth when I heard refined continental women call upon their Maker on what seemed trivial occasions; and I wondered what would happen if I offered an American girl an open

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box of chocolates, and she should smilingly reply, "My God, no!"

Herbert Spencer swore only once in his life, but he was mid-Victorian. Just before our Civil War an American minister of the Gospel shouted, "The Democratic party is the God damndest party that ever existed!" but he was in a state of turbulent excitement. When I remember that in writing Tom Sawyer, Mark Twain originally included the expression, "and they comb me all to hell," that he was keenly worried about it, that he wrote to Mr. Howells, who replied, "I'd have that swearing out in an instant," and that Mark obediently erased it, I am given food for meditation. No doubt Mark cursed fluently during the agony of composition, for, in his own language, he was a master of the great art of profanity. For some time after his marriage, he tried to keep his wife in ignorance of his skill; but one morning the telephone exasperated him, he made criticism adequate to the situation and then suddenly in consternation beheld the face of Mrs. Clemens. Now she had heard somewhere that the way to cure your husband of swearing was to swear yourself. She therefore in a passionless tone said ———. Mark replied, "Oh, darling, you know the words, but you don't know the tune!"

The telephone has surely spread the habit of cursing. As Figaro says, "To get your telephone connection is no longer an achievement; it is a career." Learning to play the typewriter has also loosened the tongue. A friend wrote me—he is a professor in a woman's college—that in playing his machine he had discovered in his nature depths of depravity hitherto undreamed of. But golf has done more for swearing than any other modern employment; it has made taciturn gentlemen as efficient as teamsters. The disappointments of golf are so immediate, so unexpected, so overwhelming. Nearly all men, and women, too, must swear naturally in their thoughts; else how explain such easily acquired proficiency?

Swearing saves the hunt for adjectives. It is the ever ready resource of those poor in speech. I don't believe Henry James swore, it was too obvious, too conventional. Listen to a conversation on a smoking car, and what an impression the constant oaths make of intellectual laziness! What would a stenographic report of it look like? It would look, grossness for delicacy, like the letters of a school girl, with every other word underlined. Swearing is italic type, it loses all significance when employed steadily. Many modern novels suffer from too much swearing on the printed page; this is a distinct blemish in Changing Winds, where Mr. Ervine has thought it necessary to report all the boys' oaths. How much more powerful by contrast is the scene in Foul Play, where, as the slowly sinking hull rises for a moment, the deep voice of the grave seaman breaks the solemn stillness: "Scuttled, by God!" Or the awful imprecation by Othello:

"Damn her, lewd minx!"

I have heard modern audiences laugh at that, so eager are they for entertainment.

Yet there are some not negligible persons who believe that frequent profanity is a necessary and hygienic safety valve. James Whitcomb Riley in a letter recording a disappointment, wrote, "I could have wept, had not the Almighty given me the blessed gift of cussin'." I remember a distinguished lawyer, who never swore at golf, and when his opponent called on heaven and hell to witness his bad luck, would always say, "Please wait till I make my putt; then swear as much as you like." This calm and self-contained gentleman subsequently became insane.

Nowadays, many of the intelligentsia swear profusely; but I am not certain that it is an infallible indication of mental growth. Recently the newspaper reports of a sermon by a metropolitan clergyman contained a very emphatic "word," as Jane Baxter calls it. Apparently also he was not unfamiliar with the tune. Professor Briggs says that the football coach has no more right to curse his pupils than has the professor in the classroom. But perhaps we shall soon find his imagined illustration a common occurrence. "Brown, why the hell don't you study your lesson?" In fact, I have had two historic cases reported to me, one from a professor of mathematics, the other from a professor of history. The former listened with writhing impatience to a prolonged, hesitating demonstration of a proposition in geometry; when it was finally completed, the student inquired with the same painful slowness, "Shall I give the corollary?" and he was stunned to hear the professor roar, "No! *damn* the corollary!" In the other instance, an undergraduate who believed in treating the instructors like "men," said, "Professor, that last exam of yours was a damn hard one." The Faculty man, not to be outdone, instantly replied, "The last exam was a damn hard one; the next will be a God damn hard one."

Women swear often at bridge, I am told, although I never heard one. Mr. Locke's heroine, in The Red Planet, who is held up for our delectation as the ideal modern young English girl, full of refinement and feminine charm, exclaims "I'm a damned little coward." Possibly twentieth century ladies will soon measure up to the Hotspur standard. We know how disgusted he was with his wife's dainty language. "Not yours, in good sooth! Heart, you swear like a comfit-maker's

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wife! Not you, in good sooth; and, As true as I live; and, As God shall mend me; and, As sure as day:

> And giv'st such sarcenet surety for thy oaths,
> As if thou never walk'dst further than Finsbury.
> Swear me, Kate, like a lady, as thou art,
> A good mouth-filling oath; and leave in sooth,
> And such protest of pepper-gingerbread,
> To velvet-guards, and Sunday-citizens."

Swearing seems to be gradually on the increase in the letters that pass between authors; Stevenson set a strong example.

Now that we have swearing from the sweet lips of women, swearing in the pulpit, pages of new novels thickly buttered with curses, inky oaths in private correspondence, why should not profanity invade the hitherto unconquered domain of formal literary criticism? It is the only branch of literary art remaining exempt. The modern drama resounds with oaths, and the inspired pen of John Masefield has made lyrical poetry blossom with both wild and cultivated profanity. The professional critic, in the laudable endeavor to eschew pedantry and to write with informal vivacity, may soon find it necessary to express his views about Wordsworth and Milton in language that would have made Quintilian stare and gasp. Those rugged words to our like mouths grow sleek.

WILLIAM LYON PHELPS.

CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Hillquit Replies

SIR: In his article on the New York mayoralty campaign, published in the last issue of your magazine, Mr. William Hard performs a sort of political, psychological and moral vivisection of my humble personality. Like everything emanating from Mr. Hard's versatile pen the article is interesting and brilliant, and ordinarily I should have enjoyed it in silence. But in these critical campaign times I owe it to my party and my cause to correct a misstatement of the central fact around which his deductions and aphorisms turn in such a wonderful circle.

I do not advocate "an immediate separate peace, a withdrawal by America." Nothing that I have ever said or written could justify such a sweeping assertion. I have always tried to make it clear that the peace I advocate is a general peace, a negotiated peace for all belligerents on the basis of the familiar formula: No forcible annexation, no punitive indemnities, free development of the peoples and a guaranty of permanence of peace resting upon the principle of universal disarmament and an international organization for the settlement of disputes.

I hold that the United States can and should take the leadership in a definite move for such a peace, and that the time is ripe now for such a move. I want America to act, not to withdraw.

I do not urge "Americans to vote for anti-war candidates pledged to the coöperative commonwealth, while Germany spreads ruin through Europe." In common with all the Socialists of America, Russia, Italy, and with the ever growing numbers of the Socialists in England, France, Germany and Austria, I urge the people of all countries to vote for "anti-war candidates pledged to the coöperative commonwealth," so that no country will spread ruin through Europe or elsewhere.

Mr. Hard is pleased to distinguish between my "old Victorian non-interventionist John Bright pacificism" and the "contemporary, direct and interventionist pacificism." The words pass my understanding and I do not demur. He is also good enough to characterize me as an "international anarchist" and by way of variation as a "benighted conservative." I meekly submit to the paradox.

But I can not refrain from expressing my keen disappointment with the whole tone of his article.

I believe war must be ended by peace. Mr. Hard seems to think that peace must be brought about by war. These are two points of view representing different schools of thought. Each may be called a "Weltanschauung," and "Es steht geschrieben" both ways. Does Mr. Hard believe he proves his case by throwing the seditious nomenclature of the enemy language at me and by classing me as a doctrinaire? Such a gratuitous assumption of intellectual superiority is the customary stock in trade of the hack book reviewer, but it ill becomes a writer of the talent and accomplishments of Mr. Hard.

MORRIS HILLQUIT.

New York City.

Socialism Twice Condemned

SIR: A correspondent in your issue of September first laments that his friends, the Socialists, try as they will, cannot seem to please anybody. We condemned German Socialists for supporting their government's war policy, and now find fault with their brethren here for opposing war measures—in other words, for taking the attitude toward the war that we claim the Socialists of Germany should have adopted. Our position is inconsistent and unreasonable, in the opinion of the correspondent mentioned.

Now there is a semblance of rationality in this accusation, but a semblance only, for the simple fact is that the Socialists have done exactly the wrong thing in each case, wherefore the condemnations are exactly justified in each case. The majority Socialists supported the government in Germany where it was vicious and bent upon an evil purpose. Heralded as thinkers and humanitarians, they stand revealed, with a few exceptions, as either dupes or cave men. In America the Socialists are opposing the government, where it is democratic in form, humane and intelligent in spirit, and striving in a just cause to achieve a result which is noble, unselfish and absolutely necessary to the world's peace and progress. Truly it seems that the morbidly class-conscious Socialist has "that little bit of knowledge which is a dangerous thing."

Now there is a lot of good in Socialism. Whatever there is of good we want and will have. Industrial democracy is coming and seems in a fair way to arrive by peaceful means shortly after the world is made safe for democracy generally. But the Socialist party in America is not exerting

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its effectiveness in behalf of democracy of any kind in this world wide struggle. It is doing nothing more nor less than its "bit" to interfere with this country's earnest and intelligent effort to assist in subduing the greatest menace by which the permanent peace and freedom of the world are threatened.

DEMAREST LLOYD.

Boston, Massachusetts.

Mr. Maxse Defended

SIR: The editorial in your issue of September 22nd, entitled Public Opinion in War Times, in referring to the ascendancy now enjoyed by Mr. L. J. Maxse's political outgivings, seems utterly to leave out of reckoning the chief reason for his heightened influence. Whatever disgust the rasping Toryism of his Episodes of the Month may have caused, we are now realizing with what faithfulness he depicted German ambition and design to a doubting English people. When the world is by sacrifice attesting his warnings of other days, it is hardly in human nature not to pay some heed to his present words.

JAMES L. NESBITT.

New York City.

The Fate of War Debts

SIR: At the end of the war Germany will hold all her war debt within her own boundaries. Before the war she confiscated property to pay for it; after the war she will be in a radical frame of mind and may repeat this performance. She may confiscate all private wealth and redistribute it so that each will have the money and other wealth he had when the war started. Germany would then tear up her paper money and war bonds and gain such an economic lead as to oblige the Allied nations to resort to some device to lighten their burden of war debt too.

With the Allies the case is complicated by the international distribution of this fictitious capital. It cannot be written off the books, but it can possibly be somewhat reduced by lowering the value of money and be made non-interest-bearing, so that war taxes which otherwise would be used to pay interest can all be used for a sinking fund to reduce this capital.

If all the Allies called in their war bonds and paid for them in irredeemable or restrictedly redeemable paper money, the rate of exchange of money would not be altered. No single nation could do this without becoming financially like Mexico, but if all the Allies pooled their national credits and issued a paper money based on a convenient international standard such as the gram of gold, legal tender everywhere and redeemable gradually in gold coin, for fifty years at the rate in America of a billion a year, this fictitious capital would be gradually destroyed without upsetting the finances and business of the world. Prices would go up, wages would follow, the wage earners would not be injured, for their wages would have the same purchasing power. The rich would have to live the simple life, and the small capitalist with an income before the war barely sufficient to support life would be entitled to a pension along with the cripples and widows, if he were unable to work through infirmity.

It would be best to oblige Germany to do this too. It should be settled at the peace conference. At the end of the war Germany will have nearly all her income-producing property intact. She can afford to pay an indemnity for the property she has destroyed in Belgium, France and on the seas.

W. S. DAVENPORT.

San Diego, California.

Women Who Doubt

SIR: Are women people? One must acknowledge, in answering Mrs. Brande's excellent article, that they are. And "the will of all the women" of America will not be "set rigidly" against the war—nor the will of the men. The people of America, accepting at first reluctantly the will of the powers that govern us, are embracing the at first unbelievable fact of our war with a growing idealism. Especially the women, who are ever in need of idealism to face reality. Since it must be, say they, it shall be with nobility. All credit to them! Their burden will be hard enough to bear, and one should not grudge them, perhaps, the moral consolation. I was at first one of those who had a vague, secret but flaming hope in the mass protest of women against the horror of a civilized warfare. It died in the first weeks of the wonderful idealism of the French women as they bade goodby to their heroes, in the noble stoicism of the women of England as their husbands and sons sailed from them, in the glowing patriotism of the German women as they sent their men to the front. I knew then the feeling of women as women about war. It was about the same as the feeling of men.

But what of us who have no belief of an eventful good to uplift us—who must sustain the months of waiting with the dread that we shall bring forth not a straight child, but a cripple! Mrs. Brande is at this moment of the fortunate. For there are other mothers of us, not "soft" either, nor sentimentalists, who are wandering in blindness and without faith. It is well indeed, in an hour of darkness, to be of the majority. Yet there is courage—and courage. And perhaps it is not despicable to ally oneself with a militant idealism that, feeling deeply the meaning of America, is struggling toward that day when in a vital democracy our sons may indeed *choose* "the right to face pain, discouragement and death" when they are "convinced of the justice of a cause."

B. L.

Chicago, Illinois.

New York Second to Washington

SIR: Politically, financially and industrially Washington is now the center of the country. New York is still first in size and is our biggest port but these big waves of collectivism are giving her some hard knocks.

Five or ten years ago the ten most powerful men in the country, headed by J. P. Morgan, were in New York City. Now the ten most powerful men in politics, finance and industry are quartered in Washington headed by President Wilson. Still almost every important business man in the country has an office in New York City. Very many have their principal offices there and live there. Up until today it was the market place of the country. In it were held the important directors' meetings; in it the shapes and features of big business were moulded by skilled financiers. In it were the people who did big things and to coöperate in doing these things one had to live in New York. Though very crowded it was easier to live in New

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York and have one's office there than to keep going there.

Today, however, the big men of the country are going to Washington. Each large corporation has its representatives there and soon will have offices. Producers always seek out their purchasers and the great purchaser now is the United States Government. More and more also is that government taking a hand in production. From Washington is directed the building, the handling and the loading of our ships. The prices of iron, coal, cotton, copper and hundreds of other commodities are fixed from there. Our foodstuffs are controlled and our business is regulated from Washington. Before long our railroads and many of our industries may be taken over and managed by the authorities in Washington.

Poor New York! We are sorry that she should be left by the wayside, but we who are wise are going to sell our New York real estate and buy land in Washington. Would it not be wise for The New Republic to move to the Capital?

WILLIAM P. EVERTS.

Boston, Massachusetts.

Supremacy of the State

SIR: No question of principle has more vital consequences than that on which Mr. Zimmern and Mr. Lippmann have joined issue in your pages. It is therefore of the utmost importance that confusion in the formulation of this issue should be avoided. This, I think, Mr. Zimmern fails to do, and your otherwise conclusive note on his letter seems to me not to penetrate the heart of his failure. Mr. Zimmern quotes with approval, as "sound" thought, this passage from Dr. Troeltsch, "Now, therefore, there abide these three, individual morality, state morality, and cosmopolitan morality, *but the greatest and most important of these at the present time is state morality.*" So far from being sound, this statement involves the elementary confusion of morality with allegiance. The distinction is clear if we remember that scarcely a law passes of which some minority does not disapprove. Sometimes, not infrequently, the disapproval takes on a consciously ethical character, i.e., the objectors feel that the welfare of the whole is hindered and not furthered by the law. Yet rarely do they refuse obedience, and one motive to their obedience is the conviction, which all good citizens share, that it is right, save under rare conditions, to obey laws of which they disapprove. In a word, the state in passing the law does not express their morality, but it retains their allegiance. They think it for the welfare of the whole that they should so obey. If at the same time they strive for the repeal of the law they exhibit very simply the distinction (in this case not a conflict) between morality and allegiance. On the other hand there are cases where men think it wrong to obey, where allegiance is for them immoral. Is this the condition where the two kinds of morality, individual morality and state morality, stand opposed? How can it be, when the law is the expression, or at least the revelation, of the morality of those, whether majority or merely politically dominant part, of the members of the state who made it? In other words, the ethical opposition is at most between the morality of the many (or, it may be, the politically superior) and the morality of the few (or the politically inferior)? I say "at most," because the difference may arise merely from the ignorance on either side of the conditions under which the other is acting. Always there is only one kind of morality, and always it is individual morality. This Mr. Zimmern admits, inconsequently, when he says, "The claim of the individual conscience is, of course, indefeasible."

If so, what is the meaning of this much asserted claim of the supremacy of state morality over individual morality? It might mean that men *ought* always to regard the will of the state (which in fact becomes the will of the government) as expressing or coinciding with the moral law. This was in fact the morality of primitive men and peoples, and it is still accepted by those who, consciously or not, find a divine sanction behind the political fiat. Now, for those who accept it, this attitude is itself the expression of an elementary form of individual morality. It is the answer of men's consciences at a particular stage of social evolution. But very few men today would subscribe to such a view. For the civilized peoples it belongs to a world they have outgrown. This cannot be what Dr. Troeltsch and Mr. Zimmern mean by the supremacy of state morality. What then can they mean by it? What alternative remains except the loose meaning that the will of the state, however determined, *ought* always to be obeyed, or that individual morality is identified with obedience to law, which in turn is understood as "state morality"? There is certainly a morality which opposes this doctrine, and if history can vindicate anything, it must surely have vindicated, perhaps even now is vindicating, this opposing morality.

The historical question is far too great to be opened here, but one comment may be permissible. The claim of state supremacy, understood as above, has often been successfully opposed. But it is never defeated by the opposition of unorganized individuals, only by individuals organized into another association alongside or within the state—until the present age usually a church. But this in turn should not be interpreted as revealing an opposition between group or associational morality and state morality. It never was a clear conflict of church and state—any more than it has become, for example, a clear conflict between trade union and state—as two distinct ethical unities with opposing moralities. The churchman was also a citizen of the state. Thus the division was always a division *within* the state, and generally at the same time a division within the church. This, I think, is generally overlooked, for example by Mr. Laski in his admirable Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty. There is no plurality of ethical Leviathans, as he seems to imply. Take for example the conflict "between church and state" which he first examines, that which issued in the disruption of the Free Church of Scotland. Why *disruption?* Because the conflict of principles involved was one which struck home to the consciences of men who were both citizens and churchmen, and to some the one claim was paramount, to some the other. When the decision was taken, they still remained both citizens and churchmen, but a particular church was disrupted in the process.

If it were once clear that morality is always an individual thing (however shaped by social influences) we would be rid of many confusions. We could no longer set up as distinct and opposing ultimate moral types the "moralities" of states, of economic and other groupings within and across states, of churches, and of that greater international unity which is in process of birth as the reaction of men's consciences everywhere to the utterly intolerable evils of our age of absolute states.

R. M. MACIVER.

Toronto, Canada.

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After the Play

COUNTRY churchyards are notoriously full of creatures inglorious and mute, and it is certain that they'll be a long time dead. To question the urban attitude toward such human fungi is clearly not to be thought of. But in the intervals of rapid transit from one epochal event to another, there are things that even the greatest lover of speed might consider. One of them, in the midst of staccato productions, is the four-act play by Miss Mary Hamlin and Mr. George Arliss, named Hamilton.

A flimsy texture is, in American drama, the most frequent penalty of the public's paragraph mind. This play is an exception. It is an active and exciting drama, and there is nothing recondite about it, but where it is first of all conspicuous is in the richness and thickness of its content. It has stuff in it, ponderable as well as imponderable, and the multiplicity of its associations for any one who has ordinary interest in American origins gives it a body, an amplitude, that is uncommon in the American theatre. A great deal of so-called patriotism is nothing more than the heightening of intelligibility between persons who share antecedents. Such persons prefer to do business together because they are at home with each other for better or worse. It is this kind of associational patriotism, not any compact of mutual adoration, that makes one relish Hamilton. It has depths of reference in it to personalities and principles which are part of every one in the United States outside the unnaturalized and the denaturalized. And, because of these manifold allusions, the starved playgoer finds himself replenished on the political and historical side in a degree that is curiously infrequent in America. But not replenished perfunctorily. The fat material has been converted from politics and history into a drama of rounded personalities, seen formally and informally, lightly and seriously, with the private lamp shining on them as well as in the glare of their official position. This way of employing the resources that were to be found in Alexander Hamilton lifts the present drama completely out of the class that is dully obsequious to fact. It is to be noted that everything of Hamilton has been excluded but one episode in Washington's administration. It shows how theatrical temptation can be resisted. Hamilton is not a ready-made play. Skilfully hewn from history, it is a drama in its own right.

To the satisfactoriness of his new production Mr. George Arliss brought more than his coöperation in writing the drama. He brought his own fineness as an actor. The episode that was selected for dramatization could not possibly get over unless it was underlined and inflected in precisely the proper manner. The establishment of national credit, surely not a very juicy theatrical substance, had to be interpreted to look so desirable as to account for Hamilton's choosing to submerge his wife in scandal rather than abandon his federalism. This problem of clean and delicate emphasis was, however, just made for the precise art of Mr. Arliss. Mr. Arliss is not, so to speak, Titanic. His game is essentially to be Olympian, to triumph by mind rather than by force, to foot his way swiftly and surely through the blunt charges of opposition and emerge with style intact. But to do so without enameled coldness or meagre deftness is the difficulty that attends Mr. Arliss, slight of person and of presence. His shining intelligence and his flexible finished manner carry him through. The public manner he employs has often, indeed, the nipping clarity of an English barrister's. It is anything but heroic, especially when he speeds it up to indicate the vivacity of Hamilton. But on the occasions when patent mannerism would invalidate the necessary impression of gravity and deep feeling, Mr. Arliss commands an admirable tone. His range on these occasions is also improved by one's memory of his happy intimate unbending. By very contrast with this mood he can be spacious and dignified, and suggest the distinction of his place among the men surrounding him. This range of expression seems to be an outcome of active and fine comprehension. It combines with his lively considerateness of manner to make him one of the few English speaking actors who have the right to impersonate distinguished if not colossal men.

But Mr. Arliss is only the high peak of his drama. The ensemble is astonishingly good. One may hold that Mr. Ravold, conceiving his part excellently, occasionally lays it on thick as the rough Gyles of Virginia, and that Miss Jeanne Eagels is a seductress of the kind that come wholesale who could never have bemused Alexander Hamilton. One may hold that the colored Zekial is less in the picture than he should be. But there is no need to reserve judgment about the suave Wilsonic Jefferson of Mr. Carl Anthony, the truculent Monroe of Mr. Kirkland, the spontaneous and explosive General Schuyler of Mr. Woodward and the delightfully pointed "citizen" Talleyrand of Mr. Favieres. Not only these contribute to the total effectiveness but also Mrs. Arliss as the wavering Betsy Hamilton, Miss Barney as the forthright sister of Betsy Hamilton who stands by her brother-in-law when his infidelity is exposed and admitted, and Mr. Trenton as the cheekily insolent adventurer who uses his wife for Hamilton's undoing. And by no means insignificant in aiding the vraisemblance are the three scenes, notably the Exchange Coffee House in Philadelphia, and the well composed costumes designed by Miss Newell and Miss Dudley.

Perhaps a good deal of the pleasure of Hamilton comes with its eminence of theme, the passion of a man of Olympian character to integrate his country. There are two sides, naturally, to the account that is given of Hamilton. The kingdom of heaven is not yet sufficiently on earth for any of us to insist that the rebels against Washington were so enormously mistaken. Yet so skilful is the drama in its compensatory ending, so far as Jefferson and Monroe are concerned, and in its human illustrations of a disorganized and unstable treasury, that one's normal resistance to partisanship is never developed. The Hamilton that is represented is essentially in the right. He is a far-seeing man who grasps the paradox that an individual price must be paid if the institutions of the country are to stand four-square, but for all his cleverness in outwitting other men, one is never at a loss to judge his actions by his unequivocal purposes. When he succeeds, a purpose succeeds, not an egoism under a purpose's wing, and his adherence to his purpose at the cost of pride and good name is the climax of a drama properly romantic. Some may think this is not exciting, turning as it does on Hamilton's career in so sapless a department as the treasury. But the brilliant conflicts of the second and third acts are alone enough to satisfy any one not mentally disintegrated that the theme of statesmanship, American statesmanship, is a satisfactory theme, and the character of Mr. Arliss's Hamilton a living character to mind and heart.

F. H.

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The Genteel Tradition

The Dwelling-Place of Light, by Winston Churchill. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.60.

FEW things in America are so disreputable as the I. W. W. To have Mr. Churchill, the most reputable of national novelists, plunge into the thick of their polluted stream amounts to an intellectual challenge. Has it been unfair to consider Mr. Churchill definitely fixable by the aid of that brilliant diagnosis of Mr. George Santayana, The Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy? Or has it been unfair to regard the I. W. W. as lacking in claims on gentility? On the surface, the collocation of Winston Churchill and the I. W. W. upsets one's previous notion of both institutions. It demands investigation, asking either for a new understanding of the labor radicals or a closer definition of the novelist's possibilities.

Grim industrialism in the throes of an I. W. W. strike is surely a theme uncongenial to Mr. Churchill, and, if the supercilious view of him were correct, he would no more attempt to tackle such a subject than Mr. Theodore Dreiser would write a Methodist novel. But where the supercilious fail in their estimate of Mr. Churchill is in supposing that he represents a dead tradition. He is not, it is true, Dionysiac. His is the cautious progressivism of a public trustee. But the singular fact about him, the main element in his success, is the tenacity of his Americanistic vitality. Traditions are viscous and their flexibility is hard to credit, but every novel that Mr. Churchill writes shows his skill at adaptation, his power of accommodating himself and his tradition to new and awkward facts. And it is not merely that he accommodates himself. By virtue of his conscientious nature, he chews hard, he swallows, he assimilates. It is not that his temperament prompts him to seek novelty. He is not adventurous. It is simply that he heroically accepts the fare set before his country and his tradition and invariably manages to survive.

The fare, in this instance, is the Lawrence strike. How can fiction assimilate this strike so that it can give an understandable story to the children of the genteel tradition? There is something big and generous about Mr. Churchill's undertaking such a task. His absence of humor is, of course, a sure sign of his fixity in the tradition out of which, and for which, he is interpreting the new America, but even though he is solemn and responsible in regard to his audience he does not flinch under the stiff requirements of his theme. He starts, quite naturally, with an American rather than an immigrant family, but it is a family that in spite of branching New England ancestry has sunk to ignoble immigrant level and is barely able to keep its chin above water. The head of the house is an amiable incompetent man of fifty-five, Edward Bumpus, who is gatekeeper of the huge Chippering Mill. Finding refuge from reality in genealogical retrospections of the Bumpus family, he does nothing to ameliorate the lives of his driven wife and his two wage-earning daughters. One of these, Lise, is dedicated by Mr. Churchill to the Juggernaut of the imprudent. She is pleasure-loving and vulgar and slangy and cheap. She wants a "good time" and takes it, and is seduced and becomes a prostitute. Mr. Churchill is sorry for her but the symmetry of his novel demands a weak sister. It is the other girl, Janet Bumpus, whose personality is his real concern and whose fate is the gist of his story. It is through her, recognizably a high-spirited and well bred American girl whose lot is cast with the proletaire, that Mr. Churchill strives to realize a condition which is still rather ungrateful to good Americans.

"Where is the way to the dwelling-place of light?" That is the question asked by Janet's very nature. The great mill town gives her no answer. Its voice is the sharp siren in the gray morning, whipping the sleeper with scorpions. Out of the crowded streets, the miserable tenements, the myriad polyglot operatives, Janet gets no response to her own submerged desires. She is not aware of a class struggle. She has no social consciousness. She is just a valuable human being, according to any conventional reckoning of value, who is compelled to fight for herself in a hideous industrial milieu. What chance is there, provided she is incapable of baseness, of hardness, of acquiescence? Where, for a fine American girl working as stenographer on low wages in a mill town, "where is the way to the dwelling-place of light?"

The agent of the great mill in which Janet works is a red-blood New England business man named Claude Ditmar. "At five and forty he was a vital, dominating, dust-colored man, six feet and half an inch in height, weighing a hundred and ninety pounds, and thus a trifle fleshy. When relaxed, and in congenial company, he looked rather boyish, an aspect characteristic of many American business men of to-day." In this man's office Janet Bumpus (a dreadful name) goes to work. Something about her attracts him. Intent and preoccupied as he is, one brief encounter outside the office decides his interest. She is made his private stenographer; and then, as Mr. Churchill observes, "our stage is set. A young woman, conscious of ability, owes her promotion primarily to certain dynamic feminine qualities with which she is endowed. And though she may make an elaborate pretense of ignoring the fact, in her heart she knows and resents it, while at the same time, paradoxically, she gets a thrill from it—a sustaining and inspiring thrill of power! On its face it is a business arrangement; secretly—attempt to repudiate this as one may—it is tinged with the colors of high adventure."

The possessive Mr. Ditmar finds Janet inflexibly independent. The business of the mill begins to fascinate her, and his power to impress her, but his unimaginative greed for her makes surrender impossible. Her spirited denial of him has, however, the effect of completing his love for her. She wishes to withstand this love, but before she completely comprehends her own motives she yields to him, only to become convinced immediately after, by the simultaneous "ruin" of her sister and outbreak of the strike, that she has been sacrificed to a capitalist-exploiter's greed. The violence of her rebound, under the circumstances, lands her into the ranks of the I. W. W.; stenographer to a red-lipped agitator who proves quite as possessive as the man against whom she takes up arms.

Considering the route by which Mr. Churchill arrives at the I. W. W., a certain frightened gentility might reasonably be looked for. The one character he sees interiorly, Janet, comes to the I. W. W. on the basis of a private grievance, without any pronounced conviction beforehand as to the wrongness of the employers' attitude and without any convincing proof when she gives up Ditmar that her own plight is the same as her sister's. Though he insists that he wants to marry her, she regards herself as outraged. Her pregnancy drives her mad. She even wants to kill him. And the chaos of her feelings is telescoped with her radicalism, mere reaction as it is. But the I. W. W. leaders with whom she associates are seriously reported. Mr. Churchill copes with them in the sense that he models them on actual leaders, and represents their movement as comprehensible and definable—"a decrepit social system in a

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moment of lowered vitality becomes an easy prey to certain diseases which respectable communities are not supposed to have." "Loose morals and loose ties!"—Mr. Churchill is not intimidated by these symbols of syndicalism. Even the prattle of his red-lipped agitator is not a perversion. The fundamental limitation is the focusing of the crisis through Janet, an unconvinced American who is I. W. W. by misfortune, not by "fault."

The end of the book sends one back to Mr. Santayana's diagnosis. "America," he said, "is not simply a young country with an old mentality: it is a country with two mentalities, one a survival of the beliefs and standards of the fathers, the other an expression of the instincts, practice, and discoveries of the younger generations. In all the higher things of the mind—in religion, in literature, in the moral emotions—it is the hereditary spirit that still prevails, so much so that Mr. Bernard Shaw finds that America is a hundred years behind the times. The truth is that one-half of the American mind, that not occupied intensely in practical affairs, has remained, I will not say high-and-dry, but slightly becalmed; it has floated gently in the back-water, while, alongside, in invention and industry and social organization, the other half of the mind was leaping down a sort of Niagara Rapids. This division may be found symbolised in American architecture: a neat reproduction of the colonial mansion—with some modern comforts introduced surreptitiously—stands beside the sky-scraper. The American Will inhabits the sky-scraper; the American Intellect inherits the colonial mansion. The one is the sphere of the American man; the other, at least predominantly, of the American woman. The one is all aggressive enterprise; the other is all genteel tradition." It is to the genteel tradition, at any rate, that Janet escapes. Mr. Churchill intimates that she is broken by her tragic experiences, and out of his goodwill he commiserates those experiences. But it is to the genteel tradition that she flies. In it she finds herself and is at home.

If The Dwelling-Place of Light were insincere, this adherence to tradition would destroy its substantiality. As it is, faithful though it is to the antiquated, the largeness of the considerations that it attempts to master gives it an eminence of its own. At times unspeakably clumsy, seldom or never comedic, it has the strength that always goes with straightforwardness, and it is too often mellow and tender in spirit not to be deemed fine as well as large. Mr. Churchill will never escape from gentility. He has achieved his position as its favorite interpreter. But the vitality shown in The Dwelling-Place of Light proves how persistent is his faith in its tenets. He can make a place for the I. W. W. in his tradition rather than give up an American mill or an American girl. F. H.

A New Spirit in Poetry?

The New Poetry, an Anthology, edited by Harriet Monroe and Alice Corbin Henderson. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.75.

THE New Poetry, as it names itself, not without an air of conscious defiance like most new movements, prides itself on its difference, its will to be simple and sincere. It is come, Miss Monroe tells us in her introduction, to deliver poetry from the "theory, abstraction and remoteness" into which she alleges it has fallen. It aims to be "less vague, less eloquent" than much poetry of the past, and to "widen the scope of the art" by "presenting the concrete object or the concrete environment," and "seeks to give more precisely the emotion arising from them." It voluntarily renounces "archaic diction" and "the shop-worn subjects of past history and legends."

All this is quite admirable, as is any attempt to win for poetry new aspects of truth, new experience of spirit, new powers of expression. Honest efforts to increase the honor and glory of poetry deserve all respect and sympathy. Respect and sympathy one is happy to accord to many of the contributors to this volume, only regretting that the crown of success cannot be so generally awarded. By their works shall you know them is the first canon of criticism in art. By its works must the "new poetry" be judged, and only secondarily by its intentions, its formulae, or the advisability of the reforms it advocates. Practice, not theory, is what counts in poetry, is what makes poetry.

The new movement would be unfettered. Healthily enough, it questions rules. And it aims to be "concrete," not seeing that it has begun to forge its own shackles in the very determination to be such. By being so concrete it has closed to itself whole realms of poetic inspiration quite as genuine, actual, near at hand and unexhausted as those it sets out to explore. To be "objective" is one great purpose of the new school, the introduction claims. It is not then without significance, perhaps, that the poems in their book which are most instinct with real poetic feeling, in whatever form expressed, are just those which are least objective, least concerned with presenting the concrete object or the concrete environment. It is not without significance also that the best things in the volume are almost all cast in forms either "old" or approaching the "old," with rhyme, "iambic" meter (so called) and other paraphernalia not new. The radicals have not yet at least proved their case.

> Sleep, gray brother of death,
> Has touched me,
> And passed on.
>
> I arise, facing the East—
> Pearl-doored sanctuary
> From which light,
> Hand-linked with dew and fire,
> Dances. . . .

There is little concrete or "objective," as Miss Monroe uses the word, in these beautiful lines by Joseph Campbell, or in his At Harvest and The Old Woman, while Hate, by James Stephens, which follows, can cause no least qualm to the most bigoted conservative:

> My enemy came nigh,
> And I
> Stared fiercely in his face.
> My lips went writhing back in a grimace,
> And stern I watched him with a narrow eye.
> Then, as I turned away, my enemy,
> That bitter heart and savage, said to me:
> "Some day, when this is past,
> When all the arrows that we have are cast,
> We may ask one another why we hate,
> And fail to find a story to relate,
> It may seem to us then a mystery
> That we could hate each other."
> Thus said he,
> And did not turn away,
> Waiting to hear what I might have to say.
> But I fled quickly, fearing if I stayed,
> I might have kissed him as I would a maid.

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Equally poignant and direct are this author's Hawks and Dark Wings, both written in accepted forms, as are his moving stanzas, The Waste Places. The same may be said of the poems by George Sterling, given in this book, a poet of true quality, to whose work it is a pleasure to be introduced by the truly fine sonnets called Kindred and Omnia Exeunt in Mysterium, as well as the beautiful Last Days, with its haunting close:

> Beauty, eternal fugitive,
> Seeks the home that we cannot give.

As more in the new manner may be mentioned Richard Aldington's Choricos with its delicate and baffling music, just not too strange; Star-Magic, by Richard Butler Glaenzer; Wallace Stevens's interesting Peter Quince at the Clavier, and Ezra Pound's Dance Figure, the former bringing reminiscences of the color and movement of a Russian ballet, the latter so curiously suggestive of a painting.

Far from being closer to life, indeed, some of the new poetry seems to go for its inspiration to literature and art. The influence of painting and music, their problems, methods and technique, is noticeable. There is a sensitiveness to color and an attention to pattern in some of the verse which would indicate an art rather concerned with ideas derived from another art, which it has set itself to apply in poetry. It is excellent to strive for these and kindred effects, but such concentration on them shows a certain slenderness and intellectuality of inspiration not compatible with the making of vital poetry.

Too many of the contributors evidence a certain strained virtuosity at times, and a certain poverty of poetic feeling with wealth of factual observation. Their eyes go too fast for them, taking in everything with equal clearness and dispassionateness, so that everything seems of equal value and the world a mere aggregate of uncoördinated impressions. They need to narrow their visions and discriminate among their material, else it is not a work of art they produce, but at best a cinematographic representation. They have not passed their fact through the informing crucible of their imagination and temperament, as it must be to be transfused into the purified metal of poetry.

In some cases, one can not but fancy, the contributors wrote more from an intellectual conviction than from necessity to express, and on subjects to which they believed themselves committed rather by a position than by inevitable attraction. There is, moreover, a distinct tendency, voiced in the introduction and visible on many pages of the book, for the new poetry to put its trust in a method. The writers expect too much from the form, forgetting that it is only the spirit behind that can make the choice of one form rather than another mean anything except an arbitrary choice. It is a good thing to wish to be simple and direct, for instance, but the new movement should remember that simplicity is a matter of the informing spirit, and exists not in the material per se. The use of a simple form will accomplish little unless there is real simplicity of spirit behind.

Beside the trust in a method, however, there is a mechanic reliance on the material. Some of the " new poets " seem to imagine that if they can only present the facts accurately enough the emotion aroused in them by those facts will come of itself. Just as to persons at a certain stage of development Nature is all in all, and to describe her moods is the sum of their desires, so to certain of the new poets life is enough, the be all and end all of their art. To give some facet of it, closely and without comment, for its own sake, they deem the artist's whole task. They believe in the everyday, and their faith a credit to them. There is no reason why poetry should not deal in the everyday, in things commonplace, lowly or even ugly. It is most difficult to do it well, but that does not detract from it. Wordsworth did it, and others. But they succeeded just because they did not leave the subject itself to do the work, as moderns often seem to think it will if only they photograph it carefully. They succeeded because they had the vision to see aspects of eternal truth and beauty behind the covering or gross gloss of the everyday that hides these from our less penetrating view. It was not the everyday they sought, but just this beautiful verity beneath. It has to be remembered that it is no gain to go from triviality of fancy to triviality of fact, or of feeling, for that matter.

Miss Monroe has written a singularly provocative introduction explaining her ideas of the New Poetry and the method of selection used in compiling this book. Her tone is not always free from stridency and cocksureness of assertion, pardonable, perhaps, in view of controversy about the movement. Sometimes she makes, with the vehemence of one expecting contradiction, statements that none will contest. At other times she quietly assumes what few will be ready to grant. She finds it " a strange fact " that what she calls the " iambic measure " should have so dominated in English poetry. Every effect has a cause. The prevalence of the rising rhythm in English poetry as the primary though not sole measure has been determined by the inevitable genius of the tongue. As to "unstereotyped diction," every real poet has his own diction. It is one of the tests. The desirability of a kind of Bohemian cosmopolitanism in art is too lightly assumed. If dabbling in French symbolism, vers libre, Provençal verse, " the elaborate mechanism of early Italian sonneteers and canzonists," and Greek poetry from a " new angle of vision " is not literary, then what in heaven's name is it? In fact, the talk is all of " influences," of all sorts and from every quarter, from Ireland to Japan. It is just out of " influences "—French, Irish, Whitman, analogies with Oriental art, ideas of cosmopolitanism, etc., etc.—that the new movement will have to work before it can become itself or anything, except a shadow of some original. They will have no " rules," but they are eager enough to bind themselves by the rules of foreign poetries, and other arts.

No one will object to their doing these things, but all this is far from making poetry more vital, " a concrete and immediate realization of life." It leads, on the contrary, to much that is both vague and remote both in conception and treatment. It makes some of the contributors more concerned with duplicating in English some " stunt " of French vers libre than with interpreting life and art at first hand for themselves. There is too much striving to attain slight, exotic or tenuous effects, as often with Miss Lowell, whose work leaves one with a faintly oppressive consciousness of how carefully sought it is, in theme, treatment, aims, even use of words. The authors tend to be too satisfied with detached images, beautiful sometimes, but too slender to stand by themselves, and which a sturdier talent would take as a matter of course and as merely part of a larger whole.

Those who do attempt to bring poetry nearer life often fail to make their " facts " quite their own. This is the case with Mr. Masters, and to a less extent with Mr. Frost. How different it is with Masefield's Ships, almost a mere catalogue of names, yet how far from being factual and how charged with transforming feeling. This poet knows that the artist must add something to his picture, else the original will far surpass any representation he can make of it. Others

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are too impressed by Whitman, though few, thankfully, like Orrick Johns, whose nonsense compounded of pseudo-Whitmanic balderdash and the pseudo-Nietzschean rant might well have been left out. Equally "literary," although following an older convention, is verse like Allegra Agonistes, by Grace Fallow Norton, or Cloistered, by Mary Carolyn Davies. The nun in a convent eating her heart out for life, and the girl nun dead, who might better have lived to become a mother, are at this late date purely "literary" themes, so often wept over that almost no rehandling can make them able to move the most sentimental breast. Still others, again, forget that sentimentality about life is no better than other kinds of sentimentality, and equally easy to fall into. Witness the clasped hands of such ecstatic feminine rhapsodies as this: "O world, I cannot hold thee close enough," which ends in a tense

> My soul is all but out of me—let fall
> No burning leaf; prithee, let no bird call.

The dominant impression, then, with which one lays down the anthology under notice here is that with some notable exceptions the New Poetry has still a long way to go before it can drop the adjective and become simply the noun. Not arguments will convince, or explanations prevail, to gain the palms of praise one is only too happy and eager to give, since true poetry is all too rare a commodity. It is only the indescribable gleam of the "true gold" of poesy, that fairy magic beyond analysis of great verse, that can command the prize. And just this true gold it is which too often lacks in the volume Miss Monroe and Mrs. Henderson have prepared.

M. T.

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Literary Reminiscence

In Good Company, by Coulson Kernahan. New York: John Lane Company. $1.50.

MR. KERNAHAN'S "good company" is an interesting assemblage; partly because it runs to literary people, but also because it includes some of different persuasion. There is much about Watts-Dunton, and Swinburne, Oscar Wilde, Stephen Phillips and Edward Whymper. But next to Swinburne is Lord Roberts; and following Wilde is S. J. Stone, the clerical writer of the best of modern hymns since Newman's, The Church's One Foundation.

In his circle Mr. Kernahan moves with appropriate kindliness and dignity and attentiveness. Of his three graces the best is undoubtedly the last. He has a fine faculty for remembering and recording what people actually said, or what sounds actual. And if he does not constantly exercise it, but allows himself a gossipy ease on occasion, it must be allowed him on the ground that these papers are frankly personal reminiscences, not essays; also because insistent logic befits only the warders of Philistia. The warders and biographers of Zion may probably take their ease therein, may rest and roll and wander in Zion, in Zion if they please. At least Mr. Kipling says they can.

Most of Mr. Kernahan's ease is taken in the company of Watts-Dunton. The accounts of him occupy a fifth of the book and constantly throw light on his work as Athenaeum reviewer, or on his rather unproductive career as an author.

The comment on Swinburne is more valuable. It confirms in part what has been said recently as to his deferences to Watts-Dunton's opinions, but does this without invalidating his keenly critical intelligence. The influence was twofold. He affected his friend and companion, and also responded to him at other times. The quickness of his perception and retentiveness of his memory are represented as remarkable. "He was ready to vacate his own throne and hail one poet as a god, or utterly to overwhelm another with a hurled avalanche of scorn. But at least he reserved his laudation and his worship, or else his 'volcanic wrath' and his thunderbolts, for his masters and his peers. He delivered judgment uninfluenced by the personal element or by kindly sentiment and easy good nature. Watts-Dunton's good-hearted efforts to find something to praise in the work even of little men occasionally annoyed Swinburne and drew the fire of his withering criticism upon the target of their work."

The notice of Lord Roberts is too personal to be of much importance—personal that is to Mr. Kernahan. He saw something of his subject but not enough to make the telling of it worth while except as any anecdote about Lord Roberts is so. Much the same is true of the notices of Whymper and of Wilde, only that with Wilde's ability to say clever things and Mr. Kernahan's ability to remember them the latter notice has a special vivacity. The account of when Stephen Phillips read is, however, in a different case. The subject is fresher—at least to American readers, and the treatment is to the point. The beauty and persuasiveness of Phillips' voice and presence as he read is admirably described, and one at least of the causes for his vogue as a poet revealed. "Poetry kindled the taper of his soul to flame as only poetry could. His genius was more

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supremely evident at such times. . . . Some godlike spirit, outside himself, seemed, in these supreme and consecrated hours, suddenly to possess him, and when the hour and the consecration were passed as suddenly to leave him. But, while that hour lasted, there was only one word for Stephen Phillips, poet, and that word was Genius." Mr. Kernahan promises a more elaborate account of Phillips at a later date. If this is a sample of it he should be held most rigidly to fulfilment. B. H.

Changes in France

The Living Present, by Gertrude Atherton. New York: F. A. Stokes Co. $1.50.

BOTH fact and prophecy are in Mrs. Atherton's new book about the activities of French women in wartime. In spite of an over-emphasis on the transformations wrought by patriotism and loyalty upon the bored and circumscribed of high society's former ineffectives, there is competent exposition of the changes the war has brought to French women all along the social line. Of course for the women of the peasantry and proletariat the conflict has meant chiefly an addition of labor burdens to a load seemingly already too heavy to endure. For the idle and selfish or vaguely dissatisfied lady at the other end of the scale, it has meant the discovery of the peacefulness of unremitting activity and organization that can absorb all repressed mental or physical vigor. Spiritually, too, perhaps it has meant the discovery of one's neighbors. But most revolutionary has been the effect on the women of the bourgeoisie between the extremes. There, quite literally, the war has changed everything. For in no other country, not even Germany, were family conventions more rigid and unmalleable than in France. The tyranny of the family was the despair of a certain type of feminist. The "dot" was something more closely interwoven in the social fabric than the church. It was in the family, par excellence, that institutionalism triumphed.

Suddenly the war came and the women of the bourgeoisie were in a husbandless world. Those with limited incomes—the majority—were forced to coöperate with other women in the same position. They found that life outside the family circle could be really interesting of itself. They looked forward to those six days' leave of absence when their husband would return home only to be shocked by discovering—shall the truth be told?—that their husband's "home gossip" bored them. Can they be content, when the war is over, to return to the old family fireside isolation? Mrs. Atherton doubts it, and she speculates on the increased possibilities for women of middle age—the age when they should have other activities, according to her view, for youth is the age when women were meant to love and bear children and one cannot forever play tricks on nature. There is the threat of the matriarchate, she hints fearfully, if men do not learn wisdom. This is, of course, characteristic speculation on the part of Mrs. Atherton. But she is forceful and direct. She can emphasize crude facts in a fashion to make the sentimental shudder. She enlarges on a great many of them in The Living Present. It is a pity that she had not derived from them a more consistent viewpoint towards the whole feminist problem. Her book is a curious although intriguing jumble of prejudice, keen, swift insight, merciless observation and a good deal of perhaps unconscious snobbery. Only Mrs. Atherton could have written it without misgivings.

Contributors

to this issue

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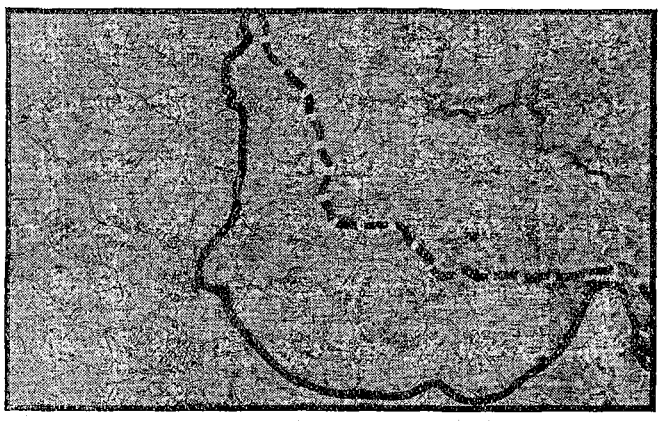
WILLIAM LYON PHELPS is professor of English at Yale University. He is a frequent contributor to periodicals and is the author of Essays on Modern Novelists, Essays on Russian Novelists, Teaching in School and College, and other books.



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